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A GENERAL VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

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A GENERAL VIEW

OF THE

HISTORY

OF

THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

BY

BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D.

SECOND EDITION: REVISED.

London:
MACMILLAN AND CO.
1872.

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Εὐλόγως ὁ Διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν ἔλεγεν

Γίνεσθε τραπεζῖται δόκιμοι.

PREFACE.

IN the following Essay I have endeavoured to cal attention to some points in the history of the English Bible which have been strangely neglected. The history of our Bible is indeed a type of the history of our Church, and both histories have suffered the same fate. The writers who have laboured most successfully upon them have in the main confined themselves to outward facts without tracing the facts back to their ultimate sources, or noticing the variety of elements which go to form the final result. As far as I know no systematic inquiry into the internal history of our Authorised Version has yet been made, and still no problem can offer greater scope for fruitful research. To solve such a problem completely would be a work of enormous labour, and I have been forced to content myself with indicating some salient points in the solution, in the hope that others may correct and supplement the conclusions which I have obtained. It is at least something to know generally to what extent Tyndale and Coverdale made use of earlier versions, and to be able to refer to their sources most of the characteristic readings of Matthew's New Testament and of the Great Bibles[1].

[1] Perhaps I may be allowed to mention one or two collations which would certainly furnish some valuable results.

(1) A collation of the Grenville Fragment with the smaller Tyndale's Testament of 1525.

68333

Even in the external history of our Bible much remains to be done. It seems scarcely credible that adequate inquiry will not shew from what presses Tyndale's New Testament of 1535[1], Coverdale's Bible of 1535 and Matthew's Bible of 1537 proceeded. And it is impossible not to hope that Mr Brewer's researches may yet bring to light new documents illustrating the vacillating policy of Henry VIII. as to the circulation of the vernacular Scriptures.

It does not fall within my province to criticise other histories. I have used Mr Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, and the *Historical Account*[2] prefixed to Baxter's *Hexapla* (to which Mr Anderson does scant justice) with the greatest profit, and I desire to express generally my obligations to both essays. If I differ from them silently on any points I do so purposely, and in some cases I have even felt obliged to point out errors in them which were likely to mislead.

Absolute accuracy in an inquiry of so wide a range seems to be impossible, and every one who is conscious

(2) A collation of Tyndale's Testaments of 1534 and 1535 with the New Testament in Matthew's Bible of 1537.

(3) A collation of Tyndale's Pentateuchs of 1530 and 1534 with Matthew's Bible 1537, for which Mr Offor's MS. in the British Museum would be available as a verification (see p. 216, n.).

(4) A collation of numerous select passages in the Great Bibles of 1539, April 1540, and November 1540, with a view to ascertaining how far the reaction in the last text extends, and whether it can be traced to any principle.

(5) A collation of the New Testaments of the Bishops' Bibles of 1568 and 1572.

[1] [See p. 168 n. 1872]

[2] [The *Historical Account* appears in two forms. That which I have used was drawn up (I am informed) by Dr S. P. Tregelles. In the later issue of the *Hexapla* this independent and valuable narrative was replaced by another written (it is said) by Mr Anderson, which I have not consulted. 1872]

of his own manifold mistakes would gladly leave the mistakes of others unnoticed; but when writers like Mr Hallam and Mr Froude misrepresent every significant feature in an important episode of literary history, it seems necessary to raise some protest. Their names are able to give authority to fictions, if the fictions are unchallenged[1].....

No apology, I trust, will be needed for the adoption of our ordinary orthography in quotations from the early versions; and the extreme difficulty of revising proofs by the help of distant libraries must be pleaded as an excuse for more serious errors.

What I have done is for the most part tentative and incomplete, and many points in the history of the Bible are left wholly unnoticed. If my leisure would have allowed I should have been glad to examine the changes in the headings of the chapters and the mar-

[1] One example of this contagiousness of error, which is a fair specimen of a very large class, falls under my notice as these sheets are passing through the press. 'Tyndale,' writes Mr Smiles, 'unable to get his New Testament 'printed in England, where its perusal was forbidden [?], had the first edition 'printed at Antwerp in 1526...A complete edition of the English Bible, 'translated partly by Tyndale and partly by Coverdale, was printed at 'Hamburgh in 1535; and a second edition, edited by John Rogers, under 'the name of Thomas Matthew, was printed at Marlborow in Hesse in '1537...Cranmer's Bible, so called because revised by Cranmer, was pub-'lished in 1539—40.' *Huguenots*, p. 15, and note. London, 1867. Neither the first nor the second edition of Tyndale's New Testament was printed at Antwerp. The Bible of 1535 was not partly translated by Tyndale; and no competent bibliographer at present assigns it to the Hamburgh press. Matthew's Bible was in no sense a second edition of Coverdale's, of which, indeed, two editions were published in 1537, and the place where it was printed is as yet uncertain. 'Cranmer's Bible' was not revised by Cranmer, and the editions of 1539 and 1540 are quite distinct. With that of 1539 Cranmer had nothing to do till after it was printed. Thus every statement in the quotation is incorrect. Lewis' *History* has, I fear, much to answer for; but it is unpardonable to use it without verification.

ginal references, both before and after 1611, for their history involves many details of great interest. One question however in connexion with the Authorised Version I have purposely neglected. It seemed useless to discuss its revision. The revision of the original texts must precede the revision of the translation, and the time for this, even in the New Testament, has not yet fully come[1].

But however painful the sense of incompleteness and inaccuracy in such an essay as this must be, it has this advantage, that it bears witness almost on every page to the kindness of friends. It would have been far more imperfect than it is if I had not been allowed every facility for using the magnificent collections of Bibles in the British Museum, the University Library at Cambridge, and the Baptist College at Bristol. For this privilege and for similar acts of courtesy my warmest thanks are due to the Rev. H. O. Coxe, Bodley's Librarian at Oxford, Mr Bradshaw, University Librarian at Cambridge, Mr Bullen of the British Museum, the Rev. Dr Gotch, Principal of the Baptist College, Bristol, Mr Aldis Wright, Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, Mr [Francis] Fry Cotham, Bristol, and the late Rev. Dr Milman, Dean of St Paul's.

B. F. W.

HARROW,
Nov. 3, 1868.

[1] [The experience of the work of New Testament Revision during the last two years has shewn me that I was wrong in this opinion. Whatever may be the merits of the revised version it can be said confidently that in no parallel case have the readings of the original text to be translated been discussed and determined with equal care, thoroughness and candour. 1872]

NOTICE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE kindness of many friends has enabled me to issue this second edition of the *History of the English Bible* with considerable additions in different sections, but the book is substantially unchanged. Later researches have fully established the general results which I indicated as to the composite character of our present Authorised Version; and the labours of the New Revision have brought into clearer relief the merits and defects of the Scholars who successively fulfilled the office of Revisers in earlier times. Even now perhaps full justice has not been done to the exquisite delicacy of Coverdale and the stern fidelity of the Rhemists. But, not to dwell on the individual characteristics of former Revisers, it may fairly be said that they have marked a general method of procedure which those who follow them are not likely to abandon. The changes in our Authorised Version which are still necessary are due for the most part to the claims of riper scholarship and more searching criticism, and not to any altered conception of the style and character most appropriate to a popular Version of the Holy Scriptures. That question most happily has been settled for ever.

One most remarkable discovery which has been made lately as to the early editions of the English Testament requires to be brought into special notice. Mr F. Fry has found the text of 'Tyndale 1535' in an edition dated 1534 (see p. 168 n.). It is possible, therefore, that the misspelt copies may belong to a pirated reprint of *Tyndale's* own work.

The admirable biography of Tyndale by the Rev. R. Demaus appeared after my early sheets were printed off; but I owe to the kindness of the author several criticisms and corrections of which I have gladly availed myself. In expressing the hope that he will be encouraged to continue his exhaustive labours upon the great leaders of our Reformation, I say only what all must feel who have had occasion to profit by his researches.

To Mr F. Fry and Professor Moulton my warmest thanks are due. Both placed at my disposal extensive collections, which I have used only partially, yet, as I hope, in such a manner as to shew how highly I value the generosity which allowed me to gather the fruits of long and unattractive work[1].

B. F. W.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
Nov. 7, 1872.

[1] As this last sheet is passing through the press, I have noticed a very remarkable detail in the History of the English Bible, which seems to call for further investigation. In the Library of the House of Lords there is a draft of 'An Act for reducing of diversities of Bibles now extant in the 'English tongue to one settled Vulgar translated from the original.' The draft is not dated, but is referred to the reign of Elizabeth, and is certainly after 1560 from internal evidence. 'Great errors,' it is recited, 'arise and 'papistry and atheism increase from the variety of translations of Bibles, 'while many desire an authorised translation, which the Lords spiritual 'could complete had they power to compel assistance from students of the 'Universities. The Lords spiritual or any six of them (of whom the Arch-'bishop of Canterbury for the time being is to be one) may assemble, treat, 'and deal touching the accomplishment of the work, and may call for the 'assistance of students of either University, and pay them out of moneys 'to be levied on such cathedral churches or colleges as shall be thought 'requisite, and any temporal person may give gift or legacy for further-'ance of the work.' I owe this abstract of the draft to the kindness of Mr R. W. Monro.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

PAGES

Vernacular versions of Scripture among the first works of Christian antiquity 3
Early Saxon Versions: Bede, Alfred, and others . . . 5, 6
A pause in the work 7

CHAPTER I.

THE MANUSCRIPT ENGLISH BIBLE,

pp. 11—20.

Characteristics of the fourteenth century 11, 12
The Wycliffite Versions 12
Purvey's revision 13, 14
Perils of the work 15
Spirit of the translators 16
The progress of the work checked 17, 18
Manuscripts of the version still remaining 18, 19
The version secretly used in the xvith century . . . 20

CHAPTER II.

THE PRINTED BIBLE: EXTERNAL HISTORY,

pp. 22—125.

Position of the Bible at the beginning of the xvith century . 23—25

§ 1. TYNDALE, pp. 25—55.

Tyndale's early life: residence at London . . . . 25—28
Visits Hamburg 1524: Cologne 1525 . . . . . 28, 31
The first *New Testament* finished at Worms in two editions . 31—33
Tidings of the work spread 33, 34
Copies of the translation received in England . . . 35—37
The English New Testament at Cambridge . . . 38—40
,, ,, at Oxford . . . . 40—43
Bp. Nix's Complaint 43
Archbp. Warham's assembly 44

PAGES

Tyndale translates the *Pentateuch*, 1530, 1 45
and the book of *Jonah*, 1534 46
Joye's New Testament 46, 47
Tyndale's revised New Testament 48
Q. Anne Boleyn's copy 49
A New Testament printed in England, 1536 . . . *id.*
Tyndale's martyrdom, 1536 50
His last revision of the New Testament, 1535 . . . 51
Characteristics of Tyndale . . . . . 53—55

§ 2. COVERDALE, pp. 56—68.

Coverdale's connexion with More and Crumwell . . . 56
His Bible printed, 1535. Different title-pages . . . 57, 58
His account of his work . . . . . 59—62
His Latin-English Testaments 62, 63
Coverdale's first edition not sanctioned by the king . . . 64
A council held by Crumwell (1537) in which the use of Scripture is discussed . . . . . 64—66
Coverdale's second edition printed in England, and published (1537) with the king's license 66, 67
The prefatory Prayer to this edition 67

§ 3. MATTHEW (ROGERS), pp. 68—74.

Composite character of this Bible 68
Dedicated to Henry VIII. and Q. Jane 70
Cranmer's joy at receiving it 70, 71
Licensed by the king . . . . . 72—74

§ 4. THE GREAT BIBLE, pp. 74—85.

The revision undertaken by Coverdale 74
His account of his design 76
The commentary finally abandoned 79
Public use of the Bible . . . . . 80—82
Feeling divided . . . . . 82—85

§ 5. TAVERNER, pp. 85, 86.

His account of his work 85, 86
Superseded by the Great Bible 86

§ 6. A TIME OF SUSPENSE, pp. 87—92.

The revision of the Bible suspended 87
Edward VI., devotion to the Bible . . . . . 88—90
Sir J. Cheke's translation of St Matthew 91
The reign of Mary 92

§ 7. THE GENEVAN BIBLE, pp. 92—97. PAGES

The Genevan Testament 92
The Bible 93
Becomes the popular English Bible 96
Archbp. Parker's judgment on it . . . . . *id.*

§ 8. THE BISHOPS' BIBLE, pp. 97—105.

Q. Elizabeth's relation to the English Bible . . . . 97—99
Archbp. Parker plans a new revision 99
Characteristics of the work 101
Scholars engaged upon it 102
Sanctioned for public use by Convocation 103
Displaces the Great Bible 105

§ 9. THE RHEMES AND DOWAY VERSION, pp. 105—109.

Vernacular Versions of Roman Catholics 105
The English Version of the New Testament 106
The translators and annotators 107
The Old Testament 108

§ 10. THE AUTHORISED VERSION, pp. 110—125.

The English Bible at the accession of James I. 110
Proposals for a revision . . . . . *id.*
The proposals carried out 113
Choice of revisers 114
Their qualifications 117
Instructions for the revision 118
The revisers' own account of the work . . . 120
The revised Bible printed 122
A new revision proposed under the Commonwealth . . . 124

CHAPTER III.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE, pp. 129—291.

Materials available for a translation of the Bible at the beginning of the xvith century 130
Greek, 131; Hebrew, 132; texts and translations . . . 133

§ 1. TYNDALE, pp. 136—167.

Tyndale acquainted with Greek and Hebrew 136
His independence in the New Testament; how far he used the Vulgate, 137; Luther, *id.*; Erasmus 140

PAGES

The quarto fragment 142
His own statement 145
Comparison of the texts of 1525 and 1534 146
Glosses of the edition of 1534 . . . . . *id.*
Revision of 1535 [1534 G. H.] 149
Influence of Luther on Tyndale's writings 151
On the short Prologues 155
Differences 156
Tyndale's independence in the Old Testament 160
Revision of lessons from Old Testament 163
His permanent influence 164
Note. *Comparison of readings in Tyndale's second and third revisions* 165

§ 2. COVERDALE, pp. 168—176.

Coverdale's Bible a secondary translation 168
His Old Testament based on the Zurich Version . . . 170
His New Testament a revision of Tyndale's 171
The value of his work 173
Note. *Examples of Coverdale's renderings in St Matthew* . . 174

§ 3. MATTHEW, pp. 176—185.

Edited by Rogers 177
Jonah taken from Coverdale 178
Tyndale's fragmentary translations neglected 181
The New Testament taken from Tyndale, 1535 . . . 183

§ 4. THE GREAT BIBLE, pp. 185—215.

The revision of the Old Testament based upon Münster . . 186
Examination of Judges v. 28—30 187
„ Psalm li. 189
„ Psalms xix, xlii. 191
„ Isaiah liii. 193
Different revisions, 1539, 1540 April, 1540 November . . 200
The revision of the New Testament based on Erasmus . . 203
The Vulgate and Complutensian texts used 205
The Psalter retained in the Prayer-Book 206
Note A. *Comparisons of readings in the representative editions of the Great Bible* 211
Note B. *Various readings in the Psalters of the Great Bible* . . 214

§ 5. TAVERNER, pp. 215—219. PAGES

Merits of the revision of the New Testament 216
Note. *Characteristic renderings of Taverner* 217

§ 6. THE GENEVAN BIBLE, pp. 220—240.

New Latin and other versions available 220
General character of the Version 222
Examination of 1 Kings iii. 5—10 . . . . . *id.*
„ Job xix. 23—28 224
„ Isai. ix. 2—7 225
„ Wisd. vii. 15—30 228
The revision of the New Testament based on Beza . . . 231
Examination of Eph. ii. 12—18 233
„ Rev. ii. 8—11 235
Special readings 236
Notes from the Genevan Bible 238

§ 7. THE BISHOPS' BIBLE, pp. 240—256.

General character of the revision 241
Examination of Isai. liii. . . . . *id.*
„ Ps. xix. 245
Lawrence's Notes 247
Examination of Eph. iv. 7—16 249
The revision again revised in 1572 251
Notes from the Bishops' Bible 254

§ 8. THE RHEMES AND DOWAY BIBLE, pp. 256—267.

The plan of the work 256
The peculiar value of the version 260
Specimens of the version: Dan. ix. 18—26 261
„ „ Isai. ix. 6, 7 262
„ „ Ps. xix. 263
„ „ Ps. lvii. 264
Latin phrases adopted from it 265
Fidelity of the translators . . . . . *id.*

§ 9. THE AUTHORISED VERSION, pp. 267—291.

New materials available 267
Use of the Genevan and Rhemish Versions . . . 270, 280
Examination of Isai. liii. . . . . *id.*
„ Wisd. vii. 15—30 275
„ the marginal renderings in Malachi . . 278

PAGES

Revision of the New Testament 279
Examination of Hebr. xiii. 5—16 281
Use of Beza 283
Examination of the marginal renderings in S. Mark . . 284
„ changes in 1 John 286
General characteristics 288
Note. *Comparison of renderings in the Bishops' and Authorised Versions* 290

CONCLUSION,

pp. 293—298.

The different versions recognized in the Prayer-Book . . . 293
The English Bible compared with the Vulgate . . . 295
Words of the Translators 296

APPENDICES,

pp. 299—354.

I. Specimens of the earlier and later Wycliffite Versions . 301
II. Chronological List of Bibles 304
III. Collation of 1 John in the three texts of Tyndale . . 309
IV. An examination of the sources of Coverdale's Notes . . 313
V. Specimens of the notes of Tyndale and Matthew . . 321
VI. Specimens of the Latin-English Testaments of Coverdale 324
VII. Passages of the Pentateuch and Historical Books in Tyndale, &c. 328
VIII. The relation of the Wickliffite to the later Versions . . 334
IX. The revision of the Authorised Version 338
X. Phrases in the Psalms marked in the Psalter of the Great Bible as additions from the Vulgate 351
INDEX 355

INTRODUCTION.

THEN the boy sprang up from his knees, and ran,
Stung by the splendour of a sudden thought,
And fetched the seventh plate of graven lead
Out of the secret chamber, found a place,
Pressing with finger on the deeper dints,
And spoke, as 'twere his mouth proclaiming first,
'I am the Resurrection and the Life.'

Whereat he opened his eyes wide at once,
And sat up of himself, and looked at us;
And thenceforth nobody pronounced a word:
Only, outside, the Bactrian cried his cry
Like the lone desert-bird that wears the ruff,
As signal he were safe, from time to time.

INTRODUCTION.

Intro-duction.

The History of vernacular versions of Holy Scripture the history of personal faith.

THERE is a famous saying, which dates from the times of persecution, that 'the blood of Martyrs is the seed of 'the Church.' It may be added in the like spirit, that the voice of Holy Scripture is the spring and measure of individual faith. Both statements require to be modified in their application; but it remains generally true that the society which is founded by human devotion and labour, is quickened in its several members by the influence of the Word. So it is that the history of the vernacular Scriptures is in a great measure the history of personal faith. A people which is without a Bible in its mother tongue, or is restrained from using it, or wilfully neglects it, is also imperfect, or degenerate, or lifeless in its apprehension of Christian Truth, and proportionately bereft of the strength which flows from a living Creed.

Versions the first work in the early spread of Christianity to new nations.

In the first ages of the Church the translation of the Scriptures followed immediately on the introduction of Christianity to a nation of a new language. When the Gospel spread eastwards, a Syriac translation of the New Testament was one of the first monuments of its power. When it spread westwards, a Latin version preceded, as far as we know, all other literary efforts of the

Introduction.

African Church. Ulfilas, the second bishop of the Goths, gave them the Scriptures in their own language. Miesrob, the framer of the Armenian alphabet, was the translator of the Armenian Bible; and the Slavonic version was due in part at least to the two brothers, Cyrillus and Methodius, who first reduced the Slavonic dialect to writing. The history of the Æthiopic and Egyptian Scriptures is probably similar, though it is more obscure; and it is most significant, that of these ancient versions, the greater part survive substantially the same in the public services of the nations which occupy the places of those for whom they were originally composed.

The action of this law necessarily suspended for a time among the Northern nations.

The original versions of Holy Scripture remain, but all else is changed. If we fix our eyes on the west only, we see the new-won empire of the Church desolated almost as soon as it was gained, by successive hordes of barbarian invaders, out of whom she was destined in the Providence of God to shape the forefathers of modern Europe. In less than ten years after Jerome completed his version of the Old Testament from the Hebrew (A.D. 400—404), Alaric took Rome (A.D. 410). Thenceforward a fresh work was to be achieved by Christianity, and by a new method. For a time the normal processes of Christianity were in abeyance: organization prevailed over faith. These new races were to be disciplined by act before they could be taught by the simple word. Thus the task of the translation of Scripture among the northern nations was suspended. The Latin Vulgate sufficed for the teachers, and they ministered to their congregations such lessons from it as they could receive.

The first Northern versions in England.

But as soon as society was again settled, the old instinct asserted itself, and first, which is a just cause of pride, in our own island. As early as the eighth century,

the Psalms were rendered into Anglo-Saxon; and about the same time, Bede, during his last illness, translated the Gospel of St John.

Bede translates St John's Gospel.

The narrative of the completion of this work is given by an eye-witness, Cuthbert, a scholar of Bede, in a letter to a fellow-scholar, and is in itself so beautiful a picture of the early monastic life, that it may be quoted in abstract. Bede had been ill for some weeks. About Easter (A. D. 735), he felt that his end was approaching, and looked forward to it with ceaseless gratitude, 'rejoicing that he was counted worthy thus to suffer.' He quoted much from Holy Scripture; and one fragment of Saxon poetry, which he recited and may have composed, was taken down by Cuthbert[1]. But he was chiefly busy with two English translations of Excerpts from Isidore, and of the Gospel of St John. Ascension-day drew near. His illness increased, but he only laboured the more diligently. On the Wednesday, his scribe told him that one chapter alone remained, but feared that it might be painful to him to dictate. 'It is easy,' Bede replied, 'take your pen and write quickly.' The work was continued for some time. Then Bede directed Cuthbert to fetch his little treasures from his casket (capsella), 'pepper, scarves (oraria) and incense,' that he might distribute them among his friends. And so he passed the remainder of the day till evening in holy and cheerful conversation. His boy-scribe at last found an opportunity to remind him, with pious importunity, of his unfinished task: 'One sentence, dear master, still

[1] The original is given in Gale, *Hist. Angl. Script.* III. 152, and by Wright, *Biographia Literaria*, I. p. 21, from whom I borrow a literal translation: 'Before the necessary journey 'no one becomes more *prudent of* 'thought than is needful to him, to 'search out before his going hence 'what to his spirit of good or of 'evil after his death hence will be 'judged.'

Introduction.

'remains unwritten.' 'Write quickly,' he answered. The boy soon said, 'It is completed now.' 'Well,' Bede replied, 'thou hast said the truth: all is ended. Take my 'head in thy hands, I would sit in the holy place in which 'I was wont to pray, that so sitting I may call upon my 'Father.' Thereupon, resting on the floor of his cell, he chanted the *Gloria*, and his soul immediately passed away, while the name of the Holy Spirit was on his lips[1].

Other old English translations.

In the next century Alfred prefixed to his laws a translation of the Ten Commandments, and a few other fragments from the book of Exodus; and is said to have been engaged on a version of the Psalms at the time of his death (A. D. 901). In the tenth century, or a little later, the four Gospels were translated apparently for public use; and two interlinear translations, probably of an earlier date, into other English dialects, are preserved in Latin Manuscripts, which shew at least individual zeal[2]. Of the Old Testament, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Esther, and parts of other books were translated about the tenth century. All these translations, with the possible exception of Bede's[3], were only se-

[1] Cuthbert's letter is given in Bede's *Eccles. Hist.* Præf. c. ii. Tom. VI. p. 15, ed. Migne.

[2] One of these noble MSS. is in the British Museum (the Lindisfarne (St Cuthbert's) Gospels, *Cotton*, Nero, D. IV.); and the other is in the Bodleian (the Rushworth (Mac Regol's) Gospels, *Bodl.* D. 24). I am not acquainted with any satisfactory description of the MSS. of the common Anglo-Saxon Version; nor yet with any general account of the relation in which the several copies stand to one another. In this respect Thorpe's edition is most unsatisfactory. Three distinct types of the text of St Matthew with various readings from four other manuscripts have been published by Mr C. Hardwick (Cambridge, 1858), who so far finished the work begun by Mr J. M. Kemble. At present Mr W. W. Skeat is engaged on completing an edition of the four Gospels, which will supply the critical introduction in which Mr Hardwick's work is wholly deficient.

[3] Bede at least was acquainted with Greek, and in his *Retractationes* (*Act. Ap. Præf.*) he notices the variations of a Greek manuscript of the Acts which he had collated from the ordinary Latin text. From the readings cited there is every reason to believe that his manuscript was the Græco-Latin copy of the Acts in the Bodleian known as the *Codex Laudianus* (E_2). Compare Mill, *N. T. Prolegg*, 1022 ff.

condary translations from the Latin, but none the less they reveal the thoughts with which men's hearts were stirred. And there was no hindrance to their execution. On the contrary, the number of the labourers who took part in the work shews that it was of wide popularity.

A pause followed.

But the effort was as yet premature. England had still to receive a new element of her future strength; and for her the time of discipline was not over. The Norman invasion, which brought with it the fruits of Romanic thought and culture, checked for a while the spontaneous development of religious life. Nevertheless fragmentary translations of Scripture into Norman-French shew that the Bible was popularly studied, and in the end the nation was richer by the delay. Nor may it be forgotten even in this relation that the insularity of the people furthered its characteristic growth; for while it remained outside the Roman empire yet it shared in the spiritual strength which came at that time from an intimate union with the Roman See. Thus the nation preserved throughout its progress the features of its peculiar constitution, and at the same time was brought within the influence of Catholic discipline and sympathy. It would be out of place to follow out here the action and reaction of these special and general powers upon the English type of mediæval Christianity; but the recognition of their simultaneous working is necessary for the understanding of the history of the English Bible. For three centuries they acted with various and beneficent results.

The Papal discipline of Europe completed i 14th centur

At length in the 14th century the preparatory work of the Papacy was ended and its dissolution commenced. The many nations and the many churches began from that time to define their separate peculiarities and functions. The time of *maturity* was now ready to follow

Introduction.

The history of the English Bible: 1. external, 2. internal.

on the time of tutelage: a free development was sufficiently prepared by a long discipline[1].

It is then at this point that the history of the English Bible properly commences, a history which is absolutely unique in its course and in its issue. And this history is twofold. There is the external history of the different versions, as to when and by whom and under what circumstances they were made; and there is the internal history which deals with their relation to other texts, with their filiation one on another, and with the principles by which they have been sucessively modified. The external history is a stirring record of faithful and victorious courage: the internal history is not less remarkable from the enduring witness which it bears to that noble catholicity which is the glory of the English Church.

[1] No notice has been taken of the metrical paraphrases and summaries of parts of Scripture, as that of Cædmon († c. 680) on parts of Genesis, Exodus, and Daniel; of Orm (c. 1150) on the Gospels and the Acts; and the 'Sowlehele' (c. 1250). These, though they paved the way for translations of the Bible, cannot be reckoned among them.

CHAPTER I.

THE MANUSCRIPT BIBLE.

Another race hath been and other palms are won.

CHAPTER I.

THE MANUSCRIPT BIBLE.

1. *External History. Two periods:* (1) 1380–1525; (2) 1525–1611.

THE external history of the English Bible may be divided into two periods of not very unequal length, the first extending from the beginning of Wycliffe's labours to the publication of Tyndale's New Testament in 1525, the second from that date to the completion of our present received version in 1611. The first of these will be the subject of the present chapter.

(1) *First period.* Manuscript translations.

It has been already said that the 14th century was the first stage in the dissolution of the mediæval church. Its character was marked by the corruption of the higher clergy, and the growth of independence in the masses of the people. Both facts favoured an appeal from custom and tradition to the written and unchanging Word. Moreover the last great progressive effort for the restoration of the Church—the establishment of the mendicant orders—had failed, but not before the people had been roused by the appeals which were addressed to them. Touched by a feeling of anxious suspense men turned with intense longing to the Bible, and in the first instance naturally to the Psalter, which has been in every age the fresh spring of hope in times of

Chap. i.

trial. Of this no less than three English versions in prose, dating from the first half of the 14th century, have been preserved[1]. But the work of translation did not long stop here. The years from 1345 to 1349 were full of calamities—pestilence and famine and war—which seemed to men already deeply stirred by the sight of spiritual evils to portend the end of the world. Other commotions followed not long afterwards which shewed the wide-spread disorganization of society. In France there was the terrible rising of the Jacquerie (1358); in Italy the momentary triumph and fall of Rienzi (1347—1354); a great schism (1378—1417) divided the forces of the Church; and Adrianople became (1360) the capital of a Turkish Empire in Europe built on the ruins of a Christian power.

The beginning of Wycliffe's translation.

In the meantime the general belief that some awful crisis was at hand found expression in England in the Tract on the *Last Age of the Church* (1356), which has been commonly though wrongly attributed to Wycliffe; and Wycliffe himself must have been influenced by a like expectation when he chose the Apocalypse as the subject of his first labours on the Bible. His translation of the Apocalypse was soon followed by a translation of the Gospels with a commentary, and at a later time by versions of the remaining books of the New Testament with a fresh rendering of the Apocalypse, so that a complete English New Testament was finished about 1380. To this a version of the Old Testament was soon added, which appears to have been undertaken by a friend of Wycliffe's, Nicholas de Hereford. The original manuscript of Nicholas is still preserved in the Bodleian, and offers a curious memorial of his fortunes. For

NEW TESTAMENT.

[1] Of these the most important is that by Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole.

Chap. i.

having incurred the displeasure of his superiors, he was cited to appear in London in 1382, to answer for his opinions. He was excommunicated, and left England shortly afterward, breaking off his translation in the middle of Baruch (iii. 20), where the manuscript ends abruptly. The work was afterwards completed, as it is supposed, by Wycliffe, who thus before he died in 1384 had the joy of seeing his hope fulfilled and the Scriptures circulated in various forms among his countrymen.

OLD TESTAMENT.

From the Latin Vulgate.

Like the earlier Saxon translations, Wycliffe's translation was made from the Latin Vulgate, and from the text commonly current in the 14th century, which was far from pure. It was also so exactly literal that in many places the meaning was obscure. The followers of Wycliffe were not blind to these defects, and within a few years after his death a complete revision of the Bible was undertaken by John Purvey, who had already become notorious for his opinions, and had shared in the disgrace of Nicholas de Hereford[1].

Revised by Purvey, c. 1388.

Purvey's account of his work.

Purvey has left, in a general Prologue, an interesting account of the method on which he proceeded in his revision, which is marked by singular sagacity and judgment. He had, as will be seen, clear conceptions of the duties of the critic and of the translator, and the comparison of his work with Wycliffe's shews that he was not unable to carry out the design which he formed. After enumerating several obvious motives for undertaking his task, he continues: 'For these reasons and 'other, with common charity to save all men in our 'realm, which God will have saved, a simple creature '[so he calls himself] hath translated the Bible out of

[1] Purvey's copy is still preserved at Dublin. The Latin MSS. which Purvey used exhibit many different readings from *Wycliffe's, but they* are not different in character. Both translations contain the interpolations in the books of Samuel, *e g.* 1 Sam. *v. 6*; x. 1, &c.

Chap. i.

'Latin into English. First this simple creature ha
'much travail with divers fellows and helpers to gathe
'many old bibles and other doctors and common glosse
'and to make a Latin bible sumdel [somewhat] true[1]
'and then to study it of the new, the text with th
'gloss...; the third time to counsel with old gramma
'rians...; the fourth time to translate as clearly as h
'could to the sentence [sense], and to have many good
'fellows and cunning at the correcting of the translation
'First it is to know that the best translating is...to trans-
'late after the sentence and not only after the words, so
'that the sentence be as open, either opener, in English
'as in Latin, and go not far from the letter...In trans-
'lating into English many resolutions moun [can] make
'the sentence open, as an ablative case absolute may be
'resolved into these three words with convenable [suit-
'able] verb, *the while, for, if*...and *when*...Also a parti-
'ciple of a present tense...may be resolved into a verb
'of the same tense and a conjunction copulative...Also a
'relative, which may be resolved into his antecedent with
'a conjunction copulative...And when rightful construc-
'tion is letted [hindered] by relation I resolve it openly:
'thus where....*Dominum formidabunt adversarii ejus*
'should be Englished thus by the letter *the Lord his*
'*adversaries should dread,* I English it thus by resolu-
'tion, *the adversaries of the Lord should dread Him*...At
'the beginning I purposed with God's help to make the
'sentence as true and open in English as it is in Latin,
'either more true and more open than it is in Latin;
'and I pray for charity and for common profit of Chris-

[1] The collation of manuscripts must have been very partial and scanty. Thus in 1 John ii. 14 all the copies of Purvey's translation read '*brithren*,' *i.e. fratres* for *patres*, a blunder of which I can find no trace in Bentley's collations of English MSS. of the Vulgate. The clause is omitted by Wycliffe, as by many Latin MSS.

ian souls that if any wise man find any default of the ruth of translation, let him set in the true sentence and ›pen of holy writ...for...the common Latin Bibles have nore need to be corrected, as many as I have seen in ny life, than hath the English Bible late translated[1].'... _s might be expected the revised text displaced the riginal version, and in spite of its stern proscription in convocation in 1408 under the influence of Archbishop Arundel[2], it was widely circulated through all classes till : was at last superseded by the printed versions of the 6th century[3].

But this first triumph of the English Bible was not ron without a perilous struggle. One or two contemporary notices of the state of feeling over which it was chieved and of that again out of which it sprung are of leep interest. Thus a scholar writes when asked to each the ignorant the contents of the Gospel: 'Brother, I know well that I am holden by Christ's law to perform thy asking, but natheless we are now so far fallen away from Christ's law, that if I would answer to thy askings I must in case undergo the death; and thou wottest well that a man is beholden to keep his life as

Dangers of the work.

[1] *Prologue*, c. xv. p. 57. Mr Froude's statement (which is retained in his last edition, 1870) that the second version, based upon Wycliffe's, was 'tinted more strongly with the peculiar opinions of the Lollards,' is, as far as I have compared the two, wholly without foundation. The differences are exactly those which the Prologue describes. It need not be said that it was not made 'at the beginning of the fifteenth century' (*History of England*, III. p. 77).

[2] See p. 17.

[3] The translation included all the Apocryphal Books except 2 Esdras. The *Epistle to the Laodicenes* was not included in Wycliffe's or Purvey's translation, but was added afterwards in some MSS. The texts of the original translation and of the revision are generally uniform.

It is scarcely necessary to add that Sir T. More's statement that 'the Holy Bible was translated [into English] long before Wycliffe's days' is not supported by the least independent evidence. He may have seen a MS. of Wycliffe's version, and (like Lambert, see p. 23) have miscalculated the date. Bp. Bonner (for instance) had a copy, and there was a fine one at the Charterhouse. See p. 19. Compare Tyndale's *Answer to More*, III. p. 168.

Chap. i.

'long as he may[1].' 'Many think it amiss,' says Wycliffe, 'that men should know Christ's life, for then 'priests should be shamed of their lives, and specially 'these high priests, for they contradict Christ both in 'word and deed.' Yet there was a vigorous party to which the reformers could trust. *Supporters.* 'One comfort,' he adds, 'is of knights, that they savour [understand] much the 'Gospel, and have will to read in English the Gospel of 'Christ's life[2].' But the fear of death and the power of enemies could not prevail against the Spirit in which the work was wrought.

Spirit of reader and writer. 'Christian men,' one says, 'ought to travail night and 'day about text of holy writ, and namely the Gospel in 'their mother tongue, since Jesus Christ, very God and 'very man, taught this Gospel with His own blessed 'mouth and kept it in His life[3].' 'I beseech and with 'all my heart pray them that this work read,' writes Wycliffe, in the preface to his *Harmony of the Gospels*, 'that for me they pray the mercy of God, that I may 'fulfil that is set in the draught [translation] of this 'book, and that he at whose suggestion I this work 'began, and they that this work read, and all Christian 'men with me, through doing of that that is written in 'this book, may come together to that bliss that never 'shall end[4].' And Purvey when he revised Wycliffe's work knew well what was required of the interpreter of Scripture. 'He hath need to live a clean life and be 'full devout in prayers, and have not his wit occupied 'about worldly things that the Holy Spirit, Author of 'wisdom and knowledge and truth, dress him in his 'work and suffer him not for to err...By this manner,' he concludes, 'with good living and great travail men

[1] *Forshall* and Madden, *Wycliffe's Bible*, Introd. p. xv. n.
[2] *Wycliffe's Bible*, l. c. [3] Id. p. xiv. n. [4] Id. p. x. n.

nay come to true and clear translating and true understanding of Holy Writ, seem it never so hard at the beginning. God grant to us all grace to ken well and keep well Holy Writ and *suffer* joyfully some pain for it at the last[1].'

The last words were not allowed to remain without fulfilment. As long as the immediate influence of Wycliffe lasted the teaching of his followers was restrained within reasonable bounds. Times of anarchy and violence followed, and spiritual reform was confounded with the destruction of society. The preachers of the Bible gave occasion to their enemies to identify them with the enemies of order; and the re-establishment of strong government led to the enactment of the statute *De hæretico comburendo* (2 Hen. IV.), which was soon put in force as a powerful check on heresy. It is impossible to determine whether the Wycliffite Bible was among 'the books' mentioned in the preamble of the act by which the Lollards were said to excite the people to sedition[2]. Later parallels make it likely that it was so; but it was not long before the Version was directly assailed.

The act de hæretico comburendo. A. D. 1401.

In a convocation of the province of Canterbury held at Oxford under Archbishop Arundel in 1408, several constitutions were enacted against the party of the Reformation. The one on the use of the vernacular Scriptures is important both in form and substance. 'It is a dangerous thing,' so it runs, 'as witnesseth blessed St Jerome, to translate the text of the holy Scripture out of one tongue into another; for in the translation the same sense is not always easily kept, as the same St Jerome confesseth, that *although he were inspired*

The convocation of Oxford, 1408.

[1] Prologue, p. 60.

[2] The Preamble is quoted by Mr Froude, *History of England*, II. 20.

Chap. i.

'(etsi inspiratus fuisset), yet oftentimes in this he erred;
'we therefore decree and ordain that no man hereafter
'by his own authority (auctoritate suâ) translate any
'text of the Scripture into English or any other tongue,
'by way of a book, pamphlet, or treatise; and that no
'man read any such book, pamphlet or treatise, now
'lately composed in the time of John Wycliffe or since,
'or hereafter to be set forth in part or in whole, pub-
'licly or privately, upon pain of greater excommunica-
'tion, until the said translation be approved by the
'ordinary of the place, or, if the case so require, by the
'council provincial. He that shall do contrary to this
'shall likewise be punished as a favourer of heresy and
'error[1].'

The Wycliffite Bible survives the fall of the Lollards.

Four years after came the insurrection and death of Sir John Oldcastle. A new and more stringent act was passed against heresy (2 Hen. V.), and the Lollards as a party were destroyed. But the English Bible survived their destruction. The terms of the condemnation under Archbishop Arundel were explicit, but it was practically ineffectual. No such approbation as was required, so far as we know, was ever granted, but the work was still transcribed for private use; and the manuscripts are themselves the best records of its history[2].

Manuscripts of Wycliffite Versions.

Of about one hundred and seventy copies of the whole or part of the Wycliffite versions which have been

[1] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, III. 245 (whose translation I have generally followed). The original Latin is given in Wilkins' *Concilia*, III. 317.

[2] Two names however are connected too closely with Wycliffe to be omitted altogether. John of Gaunt vigorously supported Wycliffe in his endeavours to circulate an English version of the Bible, and after his death successfully opposed a Bill brought into the House of Lords, 1390, to forbid the circulation of the Scriptures in English (*Hist. Acc.* p. 33). Anne of Bohemia also, according to the testimony of Archbishop Arundel, 'constantly studied the four 'Gospels in English' (Foxe, III. 102, ed. Townshend). The subsequent conduct of Arundel is not inconsistent with the belief that this version was Wycliffe's.

examined, fifteen of the Old Testament and eighteen of the New belong to the original version. The remainder are of Purvey's revision, which itself has in some very rare cases undergone another partial revision. Of these not one-fifth are of an earlier date than Arundel's condemnation. The greater part appear to have been written between 1420 and 1450; and what is a more interesting fact, nearly half the copies are of a small size, such as could be made the constant daily companions of their owners. Others again are noticeable for the rank of those by whom they were once possessed. One belonged to Humphrey, the 'good' duke of Gloucester: another to Henry VI, who gave it to the Charterhouse: another (apparently) to Richard III; another to Henry VII; another to Edward VI[1]; and another was presented to Queen Elizabeth as a new-year's gift by her chaplain. There are yet other copies with interest of a different kind. One probably was that of Bp. Bonner: another records in a hand of the 16th century, that 'this 'ancient monument of Holy Scripture doth shew how 'the Lord God in all ages and times would have His 'blessed Word preserved for the comfort of His elect

[1] This copy is now in the University at Cambridge (Mm. II. 15), and R. Crowley printed from it the General Prologue in 1550, 'the Originall 'whereof is founde written in an olde 'English Bible,' so he writes on the title-page 'bitwixt the olde Testa- 'ment and the Newe. Whych Bible 'remaynith now in y^e^ Kyng hys 'maiesties Chamber.'

The book retains a binding apparently of the age of Edward VI, which bears stamped on one side *Verbum Domini* and on the other *manet in aeternum*.

Part of the notice to the reader is worthy of being quoted:

'[This Prologue] was at the first 'made common to few men that 'would and were able to obtain it; 'but now it is made common to all 'men that be desirous of it. Forget 'not therefore, [gentle reader], to take 'it thankfully, to use it Christianly, 'and to esteem it of no less value 'than a most precious jewel, first 'framed by the Divine wisdom of 'God's Spirit poured upon the first 'author, preserved by God's merciful 'Providence, and now offered unto 'thee by God Himself, that thou 'hungering the perfect knowledge of 'God's word shouldest not be desti- 'tuted of so necessary a mean to at- 'tain to the same.'

Chap. i.

Spread of the study of the Bible at the beginning of 16th century.

'children and church in all times and ages in despite of 'Satan[1].'

Thus the books themselves speak to us and witness of the work which they did[2]. In fact, they help us to understand Foxe's famous testimony that in 1520... 'great multitudes...tasted and followed the sweetness 'of God's holy Word almost in as ample manner, for 'the number of well-disposed hearts, as now...Certes, 'the fervent zeal of those Christian days seemed much 'superior to these our days and times, as manifestly 'may appear by their sitting up all night in reading and 'hearing; also by their expenses and charges in buying 'books in English, of whom some gave five marks '[equal to about £40 in our money] some more, some 'less for a book: some gave a load of hay for a few 'chapters of St James or of St Paul in English...To see 'their travails, their earnest seekings, their burning zeal, 'their readings, their watchings, their sweet assemblies '...may make us now in these days of free profession, to 'blush for shame[3].' So Foxe wrote in 1563, and after three centuries the contrast is still to our sorrow.

[1] But it must be observed that in spite of the wide circulation of the English Version the Latin Vulgate remained the Bible of those who could read, just as afterwards in Cranmer's time. One interesting memorial of this remains. The 'Persones Tale' in Chaucer (c. 1380—1390) abounds in passages of the Bible in English. The Latin 'catchword' is very rarely given; and in no one case have I observed a real coincidence with either of the Wycliffite versions. On the contrary, the renderings differ from them more than might have been expected in contemporary versions of the same Latin text; and the same text (*e.g.* Acts iv. 12) is turned differently in different places. One or two examples are worth quoting.

Alas! I caitif man who shall deliver me fro the prison of my caitif body? (Rom. vii. 24.)

An avaricious man is the thraldome of idolatrie (Eph. v. 5).

Go, sayd Jesu Crist, and have no more will to do sinne (John viii. 11).

[2] The editors of the Versions quote two instances of copies given to churches for ecclesiastical use at York (1394) and Bristol (1404): Forsh. and Madd. *Introd.* p. xxxii. n.

[3] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, IV. 217 f.

CHAPTER II.

THE PRINTED BIBLE.

This is the doctrine simple, ancient, true;
  Such is life's trial, as old earth smiles and knows.
If you loved only what were worth your love,
Love were clear gain and wholly well for you:
  Make the low nature better by your throes!
Give earth yourself, go up for gain above!

CHAPTER II.

THE PRINTED BIBLE.

The Circulation of the Manuscript Bible precarious and limited.

THE general testimony of Foxe to the circulation of the English Scriptures at the beginning of the 16th century, which has been just quoted, is illustrated by several special incidents, which he records. These, however, shew at the same time that the circulation and study of the manuscripts was both precarious and perilous. 'I did once,' says Lambert in 1538, 'see 'a book of the New Testament, which was not un-'written by my estimation this hundred years, and in 'my mind right well translated after the example of 'that which is read in the Church in Latin. But he 'that shewed it me said, he durst not be known to 'have it by him, for many had been punished afore-'time for keeping of such as convict of heresy[1].' And that this fear was not ungrounded may be seen by the registers of the dioceses of Norwich and Lincoln, which contain several examples of men charged before the bishops with the offence of reading or perusing 'the New Law' (that is, the New Testament) in English[2].

[1] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, v. 213. I have quoted from the text of the edition 1563 (March 20: ? 1564), p. 559.

[2] Foxe, *ib.* IV. 217 ff.

Chap. ii. External History.

Influence of the study of Greek in the 16th century.

But meanwhile a momentous change had passed over Western Europe. 'Greece,' in the striking language of an English scholar, 'had risen from the grave 'with the New Testament in her hand;' and the Teutonic nations had welcomed the gift. It had been long felt on all sides that the Latin Bible of the mediæval Church could no longer satisfy the wants of the many nations of a divided world. Before the end of the 15th century Bibles were printed in Spanish, Italian, French, Dutch, German and Bohemian; while England as yet had only the few manuscripts of the Wycliffite versions. But, like Wycliffe's, these were only secondary versions from the Vulgate. The Hebrew text of the Old Testament was published as early as 1488, though very few except Jews could use it; but the Greek text of the New Testament was not yet printed. Scholars however were being duly trained for the work of direct translation. The passionate declamation then current against Hebrew and Greek shew that the study of both was popular and advancing[1]. And England, though late to begin, eagerly followed up the 'new learning[2].' From 1509 to 1514 Erasmus was Professor of Greek at Cambridge, and, as appears probable, it was the fame of his lectures which drew there William Tyndale about the year 1510, to whom it has been allowed more than to any other man to give its characteristic shape to our English Bible. And the man, as we shall see, was not unworthy of the glorious honour for the attainment of which indeed he lived equally and died.

[1] See Chap. III.

[2] According to Erasmus England was second only to Italy and in advance of France and Germany. Erasmus himself studied Greek at Oxford. Compare Hallam, *Introduction to Lit. of Europe*, I. pp. 269 f.

§ I. TYNDALE.

With Tyndale the history of our present English ible begins[1]; and for fifteen years the history of the ible is almost identical with the history of Tyndale. he fortunes of both if followed out in detail are even f romantic interest. Of the early life of Tyndale we now nothing. He was born about 1484[2], at an obscure illage in Gloucestershire[3], and 'brought up from a child,' as Foxe says, in the University of Oxford, where e was 'singularly addicted to the study of the Scriptures[4].' From Oxford he went to Cambridge, and fter spending some time there, as we have noticed, he eturned about 1520 to his native county as tutor in the mily of Sir John Walsh of Little Sodbury. Here e spent two years, not without many controversies, one of which he made his memorable declaration

[1] See *Appendix* VIII.

[2] It may be remarked that the ates in Tyndale's life up to his oming to London in 1522—3 are ed only approximately and by conecture. There is no adequate exernal evidence to determine them actly, but the amount of error annot be great. I may refer by anticipation to a promised *Life of Tyndale* by the Rev. R. Demaus, s certain to exhaust all the information on the subject which is left to us.

[3] The exact place is uncertain, but t was near Nibley Knoll, one of the Cotswold hills, on which a monunent has lately been erected to his nemory. Mr F. Fry informs me that "there are Tyndales now in "those parts;" and further that "Hunt's Court, where Tyndale is "said to have been born, did not "come into the possession of the "Tyndale family till later." Tyndale was known also by the name Hutchins (Hychins, Hochin), which had been assumed, it is said, by his great-grandfather; and in official documents he is described by both titles: *e.g.* in the *Articles against Munmouth*, Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* I. 482.

[4] He studied in Magdalene Hall called *Grammar* Hall from the labours of Grocyn, W. Latimer and Linacre there in favour of classical learning (Anderson, I. 26).

Mr Fry informs me that the MS. quoted in the *Historical Account*, p. 41 n., purporting to contain translations by Tyndale ('W. T.') from the New Testament and dated 1502, was unquestionably a forgery. The MS. was afterwards burnt; but the facsimile of a single page, for the sight of which I am indebted to Mr Fry, seems absolutely conclusive as to its spuriousness.

Chap. ii. External History.

to 'a learned man' who 'said we were better be without 'God's law than the Pope's:' 'I defy the Pope and all 'his laws;' and said, 'If God spare my life ere many 'years, I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall 'know more of the Scripture than thou doest[1].' The boast was not an idle phrase. Erasmus had published the Greek Testament for the first time, with a new Latin version, in 1516, before Tyndale left Cambridge; and Tyndale must have been acquainted with the effect which its introduction there had immediately produced[2]. At the same time, as he tells us, he 'perceived by experience, 'how that it was impossible to establish the lay people 'in any truth except the Scripture were plainly laid 'before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they 'might see the process, order and meaning of the text.' ...'This thing only,' he says, 'moved me to translate 'the New Testament[3].'

His failure with the bishop of London.

When his enemies grew so powerful as to endanger his patron, 'I gat me,' he says, to 'London.' 'If I might 'come to the bishop of London's service'—Tunstall's, of whose love of scholarship Erasmus had spoken highly—'thought I, I were happy.' By this time he knew what his work was, and he was resolutely set to accomplish

[1] This passage is given according to the first edition (1563), p. 514. In the later editions the form of the last sentence is turned into the oblique: *Acts and Monuments*, v. 117.

[2] One memorable instance of its influence is seen in the narrative of Bilney, afterwards martyred in 1531, who was first roused to a lively faith by reading in Erasmus' edition, 1 Tim. i. 15, as he narrates in touching words in a letter addressed to Tunstal: Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, IV. 635. Bilney's Latin Bible is still preserved with many passages marked, and among them the one on which he dwelt most in the night before his death. Anderson, I. p. 301.

It is not indeed unlikely, as has been pointed out by the author of the *Historical Account* (p. 34), that the saying of Tyndale given above was suggested by a phrase in the *Exhortation* of Erasmus. 'I would,' he writes, 'that the husbandman at 'the plough should sing something 'from hence [the Gospels and Epi-'stles].'

[3] *Preface to Genesis* [*Pentateuch*], p. 396 (Park. Soc.).

it[1]. At the same time he was prepared to furnish the bishop for whose countenance he looked with an adequate test of his competency. The claim which he preferred was supported by a translation of a speech of Isocrates from the Greek. 'But God,' he continues, and the story can only be given fitly in his own words, 'saw 'that I was beguiled, and that that counsel was not the 'next way to my purpose'—to translate the Scriptures— 'and therefore He gat me no favour in my lord's sight. 'Whereupon my lord answered me, his house was full: 'he had more than he could well find; and advised me 'to seek in London, where he said I could not lack a 'service.'

The bishop's prediction was fulfilled in a way which he could not have anticipated. Tyndale had indeed already found a friend ready to help him in an alderman of London, Humphrey Munmouth. Munmouth, who was afterwards (1528) thrown into the Tower for the favour which he had shewn Tyndale and other reformers, has left an interesting account of his acquaintance with him in a petition which he addressed to Wolsey to obtain his release. 'I heard [Tyndale]' he writes 'preach two or 'three sermons at St Dunstan's-in-the-West in London[2],

Entertained by H. Munmouth.

[1] No phrase could more completely misrepresent Tyndale's character than that by which Mr Froude has thought right to describe him at this time—'the young dreamer' (II. 30). Tyndale could not have been much less than forty years old at the time, and he was less of a 'dreamer' even than Luther. From the first he had exactly measured the cost of his work; and when he had once made his resolve to translate the Scriptures, he never afterwards lost sight of it, and never failed in doing what he proposed to do.

[I do not *think that the phrase 'hery young enthusiast,' which* Mr Froude has substituted for 'young dreamer' in his last edition is much happier, though it certainly indicates a very different character. 1870.]

[2] It is not known when Tyndale was admitted to Holy Orders; but it is at least clear from the silence of Sir T. More that he was not the W. Tyndale who is said to have 'made profession in the monastery 'of the Observants at Greenwich in '1508;' for More does not fail to taunt Joy and Jerome, who had belonged to that monastery, with being renegade friars, while he brings no such charge against Tyndale.

Chap. ii. External History.

'and after that I chanced to meet with him, and with 'communication I examined what living he had. He 'said he had none at all, but he trusted to be with my 'lord of London, in his service, and therefore I had the 'better fantasy to him. Afterward [when this hope failed, 'he]...came to me again, and besought me to help him; 'and so I took him into my house half a year; and there 'he lived like a good priest as methought. He studied 'most part of the day and of the night at his book; and 'he would eat but sodden meat by his good will, nor 'drink but small single beer. I never saw him wear 'linen about him in the space he was with me. I did 'promise him ten pounds sterling to pray for my father 'and mother their souls and all Christian souls. I did 'pay it him when he made his exchange to Hamburgh[1].'

This time of waiting was not lost upon Tyndale. In the busy conflicts and intrigues of city life he learnt what had been hidden from him in the retirement of the country. 'In London' he continues 'I abode almost a 'year, and marked the course of the world...and under- 'stood at the last not only that there was no room in my 'lord of London's palace to translate the New Testa- 'ment, but also that there was no place to do it in all 'England....[2]'

His retirement to the Continent.

So he left his native country for ever, to suffer, as he elsewhere says, 'poverty, exile, bitter absence from 'friends, hunger and thirst and cold, great dangers and 'innumerable other hard and sharp fightings[3],' but yet to achieve his work and after death to force even Tunstall to set his name upon it.

He begins to print his New Testament. 1525.

Tyndale's first place of refuge was Hamburgh. This

[1] *Foxe, IV. 617,* App. to Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* No. 89.

[2] *Preface,* l. c.

[3] Report of Vaughan to Henry VIII., quoted by Anderson, I. 272.

free city, like Antwerp, offered great advantages to religious exiles; and at a later period we find Coverdale also living there for some months[1]. At the same time, as no press was yet established at Hamburgh, Tyndale may not have removed there during the whole of the year 1524, if, as appears likely, he published the Gospels of St Matthew and St Mark separately at that date[2]. Among other places, Wittenberg, where Luther was then living, was easily accessible, and it is not unlikely that Tyndale found some opportunity of seeing the great leader with whom the work of the Reformation was identified. The fact of a passing visit would explain satisfactorily the statement of Sir T. More[3], while the more exact account of Spalatinus[4], who makes no mention of Luther, leads to the belief, on all grounds the most probable, that Tyndale, though acquainted with Luther's writings and ready to make use of them[5], lived independently, with his fellow exiles, at Hamburgh[6] or elsewhere, till his chosen work was completed.

[1] See below, note 6.

[2] The separate publication of these Gospels appears probable from the evidence adduced by Anderson, I. 153, 183, but the references may be to the (Cologne) quarto edition. See p. 32, n. 1.

[3] *Dialogue*, 3, 8. 'It is to be considered that at the time of this 'translation, Hitchins [Tyndale] was 'with Luther at Wittenberg, and set 'certain glosses in the margin framed 'for the setting forth of the ungracious text. By St John, quoth your 'friend, if that be true that Hitchins 'was at that time with Luther, it is a 'plain token that he wrought somewhat after his counsel..... Very 'true, quoth I. But as touching the 'confederacy between Luther and 'him [it] is a thing well known and 'plainly confirmed by such *as have* 'been taken *and convicted here of* 'heresy coming from thence.....'

To this Tyndale's reply is simply: 'When he saith "Tyndale was con'federate with Luther," that is not 'truth.' This statement is of course consistent with the fact of a visit to Luther. Sir T. More's information was without doubt derived from Cochlæus. See also the letter of Lee, p. 33.

[4] See below, p. 34, n.

[5] See below, Chap. III.

[6] Tyndale's close connexion with Hamburgh appears at a later time in the circumstantial statement of Foxe that 'at his appointment Coverdale 'tarried for him there and helped him 'in the translating of the whole five 'books of Moses, from Easter to 'December, in the house of a wor'shipful widow Mistress Margaret 'van Emmerson, anno 1529...'

Chap. ii. External History.

In the next year (1525) Tyndale went to Cologne, and there began to print the translation of the New Testament, which he had by that time completed[1]. It was a time of sore trial for the Reformers. Luther's marriage troubled some. His breach with Karlstadt alienated others. The rising of the peasants furnished a ready pretext to the lukewarm for confounding the new doctrines with revolutionary license. But Tyndale laboured on in silence, and ten sheets of his Testament were printed in quarto when his work was stopped by the intrigues of Cochlæus, a relentless enemy of the Reformation[2].

Cochlæus' accounts of Tyndale's first attempt to print his New Testament.

It is a strange and vivid picture which Cochlæus, who is the historian of his own achievement, draws of the progress and discovery of the work[3]. The translation of 'the New Testament of Luther'—so he calls it—was, in his eyes, part of a great scheme for converting all England to Lutheranism. The expense, as he learnt, was defrayed by English merchants; and their design was only betrayed by their excess of confidence. But though Cochlæus was aware of the design, he could not

[1] Fryth did not join him till 1528; and there is no evidence that either his amanuensis Roye, or Joy, if he was with him at the time, had any independent part in the translation. See below, ch. III. The date of the printing of the New Testament is established by the use of a wood-cut as the frontispiece to St Matthew which was afterwards cut down and used in an edition of Rupert of Deutz, finished June 12, 1526. A facsimile of each of these wood-cuts is given in Mr Arber's edition of the fragment, p. 71.

[2] The one fragment of this edition which remains (see below, p 37) has been photo-lithographed and published with an excellent introduction by Mr E. Arber (London, 1871), who has printed at length with great exactness and illustrated by careful notes the original records bearing upon the early life and work of Tyndale.

[3] Mr Arber has given at length (*l.c.* pp. 18 ff.) the three passages, from works dated respectively 1533, 1538, 1549, in which Cochlæus mentions the transaction: the last account, from *De Actis et Scriptis M. Lutheri*, pp. 132 ff., is in every respect the most detailed. Cochlæus thinks that Henry VIII. was as much indebted to him for the information as Ahasuerus to Mordecai, though he gave him no acknowledgment for the service.

for some time find any clue to the office where it was being executed. At last becoming familiar with the printers of Cologne while engaged on a book to be published there, he heard them in unguarded moments boast of the revolution which would be shortly wrought in England. The clue was not neglected. He invited some of them to his house, and plying them with wine learned where three thousand copies of the English Testament were being worked off, for speedy and secret distribution through England. He took immediate measures to secure the aid of the authorities of the city for checking the work. The printers were forbidden to proceed, but Tyndale and Roye taking their printed sheets with them escaped to Worms by ship. Cochlæus —it was all he could then do—warned Henry, Wolsey, and Fisher of the peril to which they were exposed, that so they might take measures 'to prevent the importation 'of the pernicious merchandise.'

Tyndale finishes two editions at Worms,

Meanwhile Tyndale pursued his work under more favourable circumstances. The place to which he fled was already memorable in the annals of the Reformation. It was then not much more than four years since the marvellous scene when Luther entered Worms (1521) to bear witness before the Emperor. But within that time the city had 'become wholly Lutheran[1].' So Tyndale found a safe retreat there, and prepared two editions of his New Testament instead of one. The edition, which had been commenced at Cologne, was in quarto and furnished with marginal glosses. A description of this had been sent to England by Cochlæus, and therefore, as it seems, to baffle his enemies Tyndale commenced a new edition in small octavo without glosses.

[1] Anderson, I. p. 64, quoting Cochlæus (plebs pleno furore Lutheri-abat) and Seckendorf.

Chap. ii. External History.

in octavo,

This octavo edition was finished first. In a short epist to the reader, which is placed at the end, the translato apologizes for 'the rudeness of the work' then first ac complished: 'Count it' he says 'as a thing not havin 'his full shape, but as it were born afore his time, eve 'as a thing begun rather than finished. In time to come 'if God have appointed us thereunto, we will give it hi 'full shape, and put out if ought be added superfluously 'and add to, if ought be overseen through negligence 'and will enforce to bring to compendiousness that whic 'is now translated at the length, and to give light where 'it is required, and to seek in certain places more proper 'English, and with a table to expound the words which 'are not commonly used, and shew how the scripture 'useth many words which are otherwise understood of 'the common people: and to help with a declaration 'where one tongue taketh not another, and will endea- 'vour ourselves, as it were, to seethe it better, and to 'make it more apt for weak stomachs; desiring them 'that are learned and able to remember their duty and 'to help thereunto, and to bestow unto the edifying of 'Christ's Body, which is the congregation of them that 'believe, those gifts which they have received of God 'for the same purpose. The Grace that cometh of 'Christ be with them that love Him.' The whole book then closes with the characteristic words: 'Pray for us.'

and quarto.

The words just quoted in part describe the general Prologue and glosses with which the quarto edition was furnished, and Tyndale appears to have lost no time in completing this interrupted work[1]. Both editions

[1] The quarto edition was commenced by Quentel. The octavo was printed by P. Schoeffer, the son of one of the first great triumvirate of printers. The same printer, it has been conjectured, completed the quarto; but of this there is no direct evidence, as the Grenville Fragment contains only sheets A—H, while A—K were printed by

eached England without any indication of the trans-ator's name[1] early in 1526; and, as might have been xpected, the quarto edition first attracted attention, vhile for a short time the undescribed octavo escaped otice.

Lee's Letter to Henry VIII. Dec. 2, 1525.

Before the books arrived Henry VIII. had received a econd warning of the impending danger from his almoner Lee, afterwards archbishop of York, who was then on he Continent. Writing to the king from Bordeaux on Dec. 2nd, 1525, Lee says: 'Please it your highness to understand that I am certainly informed, as I passed in this country, that an Englishman your subject, at the solicitation and instance of Luther, with whom he is, hath translated the New Testament into English, and

Quentel. There is not however any reasonable doubt that the quarto edition was completed about the same time as the first octavo, and therefore it seems likely that it was completed at Worms, and by Schoeffer. Two editions, a large and a small, one with and one without glosses, made their appearance simultaneously in England. Three thousand copies of the first sheets of the quarto were struck off and six thousand is said to have been the whole number of New Testaments printed. Moreover it is not likely that Tyndale would allow the sheets which he rescued to lie idle. [On the other hand, as Mr F. Fry reminds me, there is no direct evidence that the quarto edition was printed at Worms or printed in 1525, or that the Cologne sheets were used in this edition. But on the whole the conjectural interpretation of the facts which I have ventured to give seems to me to be correct. It is of course possible that 'the chapters of Matthew' referred to by Necton as in his possession before the Testaments may refer to these sheets, and not to another separate publication of that Gospel. Strype, *Mem.* II. p. 62. See also Mr Arber, *l. c.* pp. 26-7. 1871.] For specimens of the Glosses, see App. v.

[1] Tyndale's name was attached to the *Parable of the wicked Mammon* in 1527, and he there gives his reasons for printing his New Testament anonymously. 'The cause why I set 'my name before this little treatise 'and have not rather done it in the 'New Testament is, that then I followed the counsel of Christ, which 'exhorteth men (Matt. vi.) to do their 'good deeds secretly, and to be content with the conscience of well-'doing and that God seeth us; and 'patiently to abide the reward of the 'last day which Christ hath purchased for us: and now would I fain 'have done likewise, but am compelled otherwise to do.' (*To the Reader.*) He wished to separate his own writings distinctly from the violent satires of W. Roye. In speaking simply of 'the New Testament' it seems evident that Tyndale included the two editions, quarto and octavo. In the revised edition (1534) his name was added.

Chap. ii. External History.

'within few days intendeth to arrive with the same im-
'printed in England. I need not to advertise your grace
'what infection and danger may ensue hereby if it
'be not withstanded. This is the next way to fulfil your
'realm with Lutherans.' And then he adds, 'All our
'forefathers, governors of the Church of England, have
'with all diligence forbid and eschewed publication of
'English Bibles, as appeareth in constitutions provincial
'of the Church of England[1]...'

The account which reached Lee's ears had travelled far and was inaccurate in its details; but the swiftness with which it reached him is a proof of the interest which Cochlæus' discovery excited. Another notice of Tyndale's translation which appears in the diary of a German scholar under August 1526 is more truthful and full of interest. After mentioning other subjects of conversation at the dinner table, as the war with the Turks, the exhaustion of the bishops by the peasants' war, the literary troubles of Erasmus, he adds, one told us that '6000 copies of the English Testament had been
'printed at Worms. That it was translated by an
'Englishman who lived there with two of his country-
'men, who was so complete a master of seven languages,
'Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, English,
'French, that you would fancy that whichever one he
'spoke was his mother tongue. He added that the
'English, in spite of the active opposition of the king,
'were so eager for the Gospel as to affirm that they
'would buy a New Testament even if they had to give
'a hundred thousand pieces of money for it[2].'

The work a subject of conversation abroad.

[1] For this letter I am indebted to Mr Froude, *Hist. of England*, II. 31. It is given more accurately by Mr *Arber, l. c. p. 37.* At the same date *Lee writes* also to Wolsey to the same effect, informing him that he had written to the king. Brewer, *State Papers*, 1802.

[2] Etiamsi centenis millibus æris sit redimendum. Diary of Spala-

Reception of the Books in England.

The reception of the books in England answered to ese anticipations. They were eagerly bought, and as gerly proscribed and sought out for destruction. Sir . More fiercely attacked the translation as ignorant, shonest and heretical[1]. In the autumn Tunstall and arham issued mandates for the collection and sur- nder of copies[2]. Tunstall attacked it in a Sermon : Paul's Cross, and professed to have found 3000 rors in it: 'and truly,' writes one who heard him, 'my eart lamented greatly to hear a great man preach- ng against [the New Testament], which shewed forth ertain things that he noted for hideous errors to be n it, that I, yea, and not I, but likewise did many ther, think to be none[3].'

The attack of Tunstall appears to have been the sult of a deliberation of the Cardinal and the bishops. a preface added to the English translation of

nus under 'Sunday after St Lau- nce's Day, 1526,' given in Schel- rn, *Amæn. Liter.* IV. 431 (ed. 730). The enumeration of lan- ages is 'Hebraicæ, Græcæ, Lati- e, Italicæ, Hispanicæ, Britannicæ, allicæ.' The passage is falsely uoted in the life of Tyndale pre- ed to the edition of Park. Soc. ith '*Dutch*' (*i. e.* German) for French' (p. xxx. n.). The error important, for if the printed read- g be correct, it is unlikely that yndale had spent a long time at Vittenberg with Luther.

[1] His great charge was the disre- ard of 'ecclesiastical terms,' 'church, riest, charity, grace, confess, pen- nce,' for which Tyndale substituted congregation, elder, love, favour, nowledge, repentance.' Tyndale's eply is full of interest.

A similar charge against the trans- tion was made by R. Ridley (uncle f N. Ridley). Writing in *Feb. 1527* to the chaplain of Archbp. Warham he says; 'By this translation we lose 'all these Christian words *penance*, '*charity*, *confession*, *grace*, *priest*, '*church*, which he always calleth a 'congregation; as if so many Turks 'or irrational animals were not a 'congregation, except he wishes them 'also to be a church. *Idolatria* call- 'eth he "worshipping of images."... 'Ye shall not need to accuse this 'translation. It is accused and damn- 'ed by the consent of the prelates and 'learned men; and commanded to 'be burnt, both here and beyond the 'sea where is many hundred of them 'burnt; so that it is too late now to 'ask reason why that be condemned 'and which be the faults and errors...' (Anderson, I. 153 ff. Arber, pp. 52 ff.).

[2] Oct. 24, 1526. Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 449 (ed. 1563). Anderson, I. p. 118. Arber, pp. 50 ff.

[3] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, V. 213. *Tunstall* returned in April 1526.

Chap. ii. External History.

The translation condemned.

Henry VIII.'s answer to Luther's letter of 1525 it is said in the name of the king that he had 'with the 'deliberate advice of.....Thomas lord Cardinal.....and 'other reverend fathers of the spirituality determined '.....[Tyndale's] untrue translations to be burnt, with 'further sharp correction and punishment against[1] the 'keepers and readers of the same.....' Roye, in his *Brief Dialogue*, gives an account of the discussion which issued in this condemnation, and represents at least the popular opinion as to the parts played by the several actors[2]. The betrayal of the New Testament is compared with the betrayal of Christ. The part of Judas is assigned to Standish, bishop of St Asaph. The Cardinal 'spake the words of Pilate, saying, I find no fault 'therein.' But the argument of 'bishop Caiaphas '[Tunstall] prevailed, who pleaded that it was better 'that the Gospel be condemned than their estate con-'temned;' and so the Cardinal and all the bishops decided that the book should be burnt.

The spread of the translation.

The decision being once made was vigorously carried out. Copies of the New Testament were bought up and burnt in Antwerp and London and Oxford[3]. Diplomacy was invoked to restrain the printers. But all was in vain. The tide was fairly flowing and it could not be checked. A formidable popular organization was ready in England to welcome the books and to spread them. Numerous agents were employed

[1] The preface is given at length by Mr Arber, pp. 40 f. The date of the book "cannot be long after the be-"ginning of 1527."

[2] The passages are printed in full by Mr Arber, pp. 29 ff.

[3] ... nuper cum summa ejus laude *et gloria auditum* est majestatem suam *sacrum Bibliæ* codicem, qui ad pervertendum pias fidelium simplicium mentes a perfidis abominandæ sectæ Lutheranæ sectatoribus vernaculo sermone depravatus et ad ejus regnum delatus fuerat justissime comburi fecisse (Campeggio to Wolsey, Nov. 2, 1526. Arber, p. 49). Compare also Anderson, I. p. 214, Arber, pp. 49 ff., and below pp. 39, 42.

oth in importing them from Holland and in circulating them. There is even something quaintly human n the spirit of the trader which shewed itself in this sacred work. One John Tyball came with a friend o London (1526) to buy one of Tyndale's New Testaments. After giving some proof of their sincerity they shewed 'the Friar Barnes of certain old books 'that they had, as of the four Evangelists and cer-'tain epistles of Peter and Paul in English, which 'books the said Friar did little regard, and made a 'twit of it and said "a point for them! for they be '"not to be regarded toward the new *printed* Testa-'"ment in English; for it is of more cleaner English." 'And then the said Friar Barnes delivered to them the 'said New Testament in English...and after...did liken 'the New Testament in Latin to "a cymbal tinkling and '"brass sounding[1]."' Thus by 1530 swiftly and silently six editions, of which three were surreptitious, were dispersed, and Tyndale could feel that so far his work was substantially indestructible. He had anticipated its immediate fate. 'In burning the New Testament,' he wrote soon after the book reached England (1527), 'they did 'none other thing than I looked for; no more shall they 'do if they burn me also, if it be God's will it shall so 'be. Nevertheless in translating the New Testament 'I did my duty and so do I now...[2].' Yet so fierce and systematic was the persecution both now and afterwards, that of these six editions, numbering perhaps 15,000 copies, there remains of the first one fragment only, which was found about thirty years ago, attached to another tract[3]; of the second, one copy, wanting the

[1] Deposition of John Tyball, Strype's *Memorials*, I. 131, App. 55.

[2] Preface to *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, I. p. 44.

[3] At present in the Grenville Library in the British Museum. See p. 30, n. 2.

Chap. ii. External History.

title-page, and another very imperfect[1]; and of the others, two or three copies, which are not however satisfactorily identified[2].

Two characteristic incidents will be sufficient to shew the strength and weakness of the popular movement to which the origin and circulation of the translation was due.

The New Testament at Cambridge *and* London.

The Eastern Counties, which took an active part on the popular side in the barons' war and in the great revolution, seem to have been most ready to welcome the New English Testament. Nearly all the places out of London mentioned in direct connexion with the first circulation of the books lie in this district, as Norwich, Bury, Colchester. And Cambridge, which had enjoyed the teaching of Erasmus, was early and deeply leavened by the 'new learning.' Bilney, Latimer, and Barnes, men of distinction in the University and not young students, were its representatives. Their position made them bold. On Christmas Eve, 1525, Barnes preached a sermon in which he criticised among other things the luxury of Wolsey. This personal attack gave force to the accusation against him, which after a little delay was laid before the Cardinal. A messenger came early in February of the next year to search for heretical books, but his visit was anticipated by

[1] The first which is in the Library of the Baptist College at Bristol, has been reproduced in facsimile by Mr Fry: the second is in the Library of St Paul's, London. The Bristol copy has richly illuminated capitals, and was evidently designed for a wealthy purchaser. Marginal references are also added, perhaps by the illuminator, which are generally but not always identical with those in the edition of 1534. A very few notes in *Latin and English* were added by an early hand, but they are of no special interest.

[2] Of these three editions one was printed by Endhoven, and the two others by Ruremonde, but all at Antwerp: Anderson, I. 129—133; 163—165. The Dutch copy in the Library of Emm. Coll. Cambridge, as Dr Cotton points out, is Coverdale's and not Tyndale's version. It is very probable that other editions existed of which no trace has yet been discovered.

private information. The books were placed carefully beyond his reach, but he arrested Barnes. With such an offender the process was short and simple. After he had appeared before the court the choice was left him of abjuration or the stake. A bitter struggle revealed his present weakness, and on the next Sunday in company with some German traders—'Stillyard men'—committed 'for Luther's books and Lollardy[1],' he performed a memorable penance in St Paul's[2]. 'The 'Cardinal had a scaffold made on the top of the stairs 'for himself, with six-and-thirty Abbots, mitred Priors 'and Bishops, and he in his whole pomp mitred, which 'Barnes spoke against, sat there enthronised. His chap-'lains and spiritual doctors, in gowns of damask and 'satin, and he himself in purple, even like a bloody 'antichrist. And there was a new pulpit erected on the 'top of the stairs also for Fisher, the Bishop of Rochester, 'to preach against Luther and Barnes; and great baskets 'full of books standing before them within the rails, 'which were commanded after the great fire was made 'before the Rood of Northen[3] there to be burned; and 'these heretics after the sermon to go thrice about the 'fire and to cast in their faggots.' The ceremony was duly enacted. Barnes humbly acknowledged the mercy which he had received, and the obnoxious books were burnt. 'And so the Cardinal,' Foxe continues with grave humour, 'departed under a canopy with all his 'mitred men with him, till he came to the second gate of

[1] An abstract of the depositions of these men (Feb. 8, 1526) is given by Brewer, *Calendar of State Papers*, Henry VIII., No. 1962.

[2] This took place Feb. 11, 1526. The narrative is given by Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, v. 414 ff. See Demaus' *Life of Latimer*, pp. 49 ff.

[3] The crucifix, that is, 'towards 'the great north door, whereunto ob-'lations were frequently made, where-'of the deacons and canons had the 'benefit.' Dugdale, *Hist. of St Paul's*, p. 15.

Chap. ii. External History.

'Paul's; and then he took his mule and the mitred m
'came back again[1].'

Tyndale's comment.

The tidings of this scene and of Fisher's sermo
reached Tyndale. 'Mark, I pray you,' he wrote n
long afterwards, 'what an orator Rochester is, and ho
'vehemently he persuadeth it! Martin Luther hat
'burned the pope's decretals: a manifest sign, saith h
'that he would have burned the pope's holiness also, i
'he had had him! A like argument, which I suppose t
'be rather true, I make: Rochester and his holy breth-
'ren have burnt Christ's Testament: an evident sign
'verily, that they would have burnt Christ Himself also,
'if they had had Him[2].' But so it was that for a while
the persecution triumphed. The faith of the confessors
was not yet purified and strengthened.

The English New Testament at Oxford.

From Cambridge and London we pass to Oxford. One of the first and most active distributors of Tyndale's Testaments was Thomas Garret, curate of All Hallows, Cheapside. It seems that he had been engaged some time in circulating them at Oxford and elsewhere before the suspicion of the government was roused. At last, in Feb. 1528[3], tidings of his labours reached Wolsey, and search was made for him in all London. It was found that he was then 'gone to 'Oxford to make sale of [the books] there to such as he 'knew to be lovers of the Gospel,' for this was not his first labour of the kind. A messenger was despatched

[1] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, v. 418.

[2] *Obedience of a Christian Man*, p. 221 (A.D. 1527). I owe the passage to Mr Anderson, I. p. 107. It is possible indeed that Tyndale may be speaking here of the burning of Luther's translations, which were found in possession of the Hanse merchants; for it is not certain that the English Testaments were burnt till after Tunstall's sermon (*i. e.* after April, 1526). See p. 35.

[3] Mr Demaus has pointed out to me that this is certainly the date of Garret's apprehension. At the same time there can be no doubt that his connexion with Oxford commenced at an earlier time, and probably in 1526.

[illegible]ther to apprehend him, but the timely warning of a [illegible]end gave him an opportunity of escaping. But 'after [illegible]at he was gone a day's journey and a half he was so [illegible]arful that his heart would no other but that he must [illegible]eeds return unto Oxford.' He was immediately ap-[illegible]hended, but again escaped from custody and sought [illegible]t his friend Dalaber, who has recorded the story. [illegible]ith 'deep sighs and plenty of tears he prayed me,' Dalaber writes, 'to help to convey him away, and so he cast off his hood and his gown wherein he came unto me, and desired me to give him a coat with sleeves, if I had any; and told me that he would go into Wales and thence convey himself to Germany if he might. 'Then I put on him a sleeved coat of mine, of fine cloth 'in grain, which my mother had given me. He would 'have another manner of cap of me, but I had none but 'priest-like, such as his own was. Then kneeled we 'both down together on our knees, lifting up our hearts 'and hands to God, our heavenly Father, desiring him 'with plenty of tears so to conduct and prosper him in 'his journey that he might well escape the danger of his 'enemies, to the glory of His holy Name, if His good 'pleasure and will so were. And then we embraced 'and kissed one the other...and so he departed from 'me apparelled in my coat...' But when Garret thus fled others remained behind not unworthy to carry on his work. 'When he was gone down the stairs from 'my chamber,' Dalaber continues, 'I straightway did shut 'my chamber-door and went into my study shutting the 'door upon me, and took the New Testament of Eras-'mus' translation in my hands, kneeled down on my 'knees, and with many a deep sigh and salt tear, I did 'with much deliberation read over the tenth chapter of 'St Matthew's Gospel; and when I had so done, with

Chap. ii. External History.

'fervent prayer I did commit unto God that our dearly 'beloved brother Garret, earnestly beseeching Him in 'and for Jesus Christ's sake, His only begotten Son our 'Lord, that He would vouchsafe not only safety to con- 'duct and keep our said dear brother from the hands of 'all his enemies; but also that He would endue His 'tender and lately born little flock in Oxford with hea- 'venly strength by His Holy Spirit, that they might be 'well able thereby valiantly to withstand to His glory 'all their fierce enemies, and also might quietly to their 'own salvation with all godly patience bear Christ's 'heavy cross, which I now saw was presently to be laid 'on their young and week backs, unable to bear so huge 'a one without the great help of His Holy Spirit. 'This done I laid aside my books safe'...Within a short interval Garret was brought back to Oxford. By this time numerous discoveries had been made. Forbidden books had been found carefully secreted. The Cardinal's College, which had received a large infusion of Cambridge men, was deeply infected with the new heresy. But for the moment old influences were too powerful. The 'lately born flock' was not ripe for the trial. Before many days were over Garret and Dalaber took a principal part in a public act of penance in company with Fryth and Taverner and Coxe and Udall and Ferrar and many others destined to play an important part in the coming struggle of the Reformation. One detail of their punishment was to throw a book into a fire kindled at Carfax. The procession passed away, the fire died out, the books were consumed, and such was the end of the first appearance of Tyndale's New Testament at Oxford[1].

[1] The original history is given by Foxe, v. 421 ff., and App. No. VI.

Twelve years later (1540) Barnes and Garret were martyred together, two days after the execution of Crumwell.

Progress of the demand for the English Bible.

Even within a short time this zeal of persecution brought out into greater prominence the extent of the movement against which it was directed. One of those who had originally (June, 1527) contributed money for the purpose of buying up Tyndale's Testaments was Nix, bishop of Norwich[1]. This singular plan for stopping the sale of the books having failed, Nix wrote three years afterwards in deep distress to archbishop Warham to obtain some more effectual interference in the matter. His letter is in every way so quaint and characteristic that it must be quoted in its original form:

Bp. Nix's Complaint.

'I am accombred with such as kepith and redith these 'arronious boks in English.....My Lorde, I have done 'that lieth in me for the suppresion of suche parsons; 'but it passith my power or any spiritual man for to do 'it; for dyverse saith openly in my diocesse that the 'king's grace wolde that they shulde have the saide 'arroneous boks.....And they [with whom I confer] say 'that whersomever they go they here say that the king's 'pleasure is the Newe Testament in English shal go 'forth and men sholde have it and read it; and from 'that opinion I can no wise induce them but I had 'gretter auctoritie to punyshe them than I have. Where-'fore I beseiche your good Lordshep...that a remedy 'may be had. For, now it may be done wel in my 'diocesse; for the gentilmen and commenty be not 'greatly infect, but marchants and such that hath ther 'abyding not ferre from the see...There is a Collage in 'Cambridge called Gunnel haule [Gonville and Caius

[1] His letter is given by Anderson, 1. p. 158.

Chap. ii. External History.

'College], of the foundation of a bp. of Norwich. I here 'of no Clerk that hath commen ought lately of that 'Collage but saverith of the frying pan tho he speke 'never so holely[1]'...

Archbp. Warham's Assembly. 1530, *May* 24.

The fears and wishes of Nix were probably shared by a large party in England, and ten days after he wrote an imposing assembly was convened by archbishop Warham, at which the errors of Tyndale and his friends were formally denounced, and a bill drawn up to be published by preachers. In this it was stated, among other things, that, in spite of the widespread feeling to the contrary, it was not part of the King's duty to cause the Scriptures to be circulated among the people in the vulgar tongue. And that he 'by the advice and deliberation of 'his council, and the agreement of great learned men, 'thinketh in his conscience that the divulging of this 'Scripture at this time in the English tongue to be com-'mitted to the people, should rather be to the further 'confusion and distraction than the edification of their 'souls[2].' Thus in the very condemnation of the vernacular Bible, the general demand for it is acknowledged, and a translation is only deferred till a more convenient opportunity, which was nearer at hand than More or Tunstall could have imagined. Even in Warham's assembly 'there were' on Latimer's testimony 'three or 'four that would have had the Scripture to go forth in 'English.' 'The which thing also your grace,' so he writes to the King, 'hath promised by your last procla-'mation: the which promise I pray God that your gra-'cious Highness may shortly perform, even to-day before 'to-morrow. Nor let the wickedness of these worldly 'men detain you from your godly purpose and promise.'

[1] *Strype's Cranmer*, 695 f. App. XII. The letter is dated May 14th.
[2] *Wilkins' Concilia*, III. 736.

Thus the first battle for the Bible was being fought England. Meanwhile the work had advanced one p further abroad. Very early in the same year it is ely that Tyndale continued his work by publishing parately translations of Genesis and Deuteronomy. is not known when the other books of the Pentateuch re printed. The earliest copy which contains the five oks has at the end of Genesis the date '1530, the 17th f January.' Perhaps however this may indicate accord- g to our style, 'Jan. 1531;' and there is no evidence to ew when the whole collection was issued, or indeed ether it was issued as a whole. The marginal glosses th which these translations are annotated are full interest and strongly controversial. The spirit and en the style of Luther is distinctly visible in them. the directness and persistency of their polemics ainst Rome they differ much from the glosses in the arto Testament. Thus Tyndale finds in the cere- nies of the Jewish Church the origin of the Romish es (note on Ex. xxviii). For example, on Ex. xxix. , he adds, 'Touch not the chalice nor the altar-stone, r holy oil, and hold your hand out of the font.' On . xxxvi. 5, he writes: 'When will the Pope say Hoo old!) and forbid to offer for the building of St Peter's urch? And when will our spirituality say Hoo! d forbid to give them more land, and to make ore foundations? Never until they have all.' Even ndale too could descend to a pleasantry like Luther. us on Ex. xxxii. 35, he remarks, 'The Pope's ull slayeth more than Aaron's calf...' The tonsure criticized Levit. xxi. 5, 'Of the heathen priests en took our prelates the ensample of their bald ates.' One grim touch of satire may be added, eut. xi. 19, 'Talk of them [the Lord's words] when

Progress of Tyndale.

Pentateuch.

The marginal glosses of Pentateuch

Chap. ii. External History.

'thou sittest in thine house.' 'Talk of Robin Hood, 'say our prelates.'

The Translation of Jonah, 1534.

In the same year (1531), in all probability, the book of Jonah[1] with an important Prologue appeared, but no more of Tyndale's work on the Old Testament was published during his lifetime, except the 'Epistles from the Old Testament,' which were added to the revised edition of his New Testament. For in the midst of his constant perils and anxieties from within and from without Tyndale found time to revise his New Testament carefully. The immediate occasion for the publication of his work was the appearance of an unauthorised revision in August 1534,

Joye's New Testament.

by George Joye. The demand for the New Testaments which appears to have slackened since 1530, was again so great that three surreptitious editions were printed at Antwerp in that year; and Joye undertook to revise the sheets of a fourth edition. In doing this he made use as he says, of the Latin text, and aimed at giving 'many 'words their pure and native signification.' The title of the book is singularly affected[2], and the alterations were

[1] Of this a single copy was found in 1861 by Lord A. Hervey, which was reproduced in facsimile by Mr F. Fry, 1863. For a comparison of the version with that of Coverdale, see p. 64. The book was denounced by Stokesley, Dec. 3, 1531, and in 1532 Sir T. More speaks of 'Jonas made 'out of Tyndale.' Mr Fry has called my attention to these references.

[2] The New Testament as it was written and caused to be written by them which herde yt, whom also oure Saueoure Christ Jesus commaunded that they shulde preach it vnto al creatures.

At the end of the New Testament is this colophon:

Here endeth the New Testament, *diligently* ouersene and corrected, *and prynted now* agayn at Antwerpe by me wydowe of Christoffel of Endouē. In the yere of oure Lorde M.CCCCC and XXXIIII, in August.

One copy only of this edition is known, which is in the Grenville Library in the British Museum.

It is not true, as is commonly said, that Joye 'expunged' the word 'resurrection' from his New Testament. It stands in such critical passages as Acts xvii. 18, 32; i. 22; iv. 2, &c.; 1 Cor. xv. 12, &c.; nor did Tyndale bring this charge against him, but that 'throughout Matthew, Mark and 'Luke perpetually, and often in the 'Acts, and sometimes in John, and 'also in the Hebrews, where he find-'eth this word "Resurrection," he 'changeth it into the "life after this 'life," or "very life," and such like, 'as one that abhorred the name of

such as to arouse the just indignation of Tyndale, whose name however is nowhere connected with the version. Among other new renderings Tyndale specially notices that of '*the life after this*' for '*resurrection.*' Still Joye does not avoid the word 'resurrection;' and if this were the only change, the particular substitution would be of little moment in the connexion where it occurs; but comparatively few paragraphs are left wholly untouched as far as I have examined the book. One continuous passage will exhibit Joye's mode of dealing with the text. The words in italics are variations from Tyndale:

'That *thing* (om. T.) which was from the beginning 'declare we unto you, (add. *concerning* T. 1st ed.) which 'we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which 'we have looked upon, and our hands have handled; '*even that same thing which is* (*of the word of* T.) life. 'For *that* (*the* T.) life appeared, and we have seen *it* (om. 'T.), *wherefore we* (*and* T.) bear witness and shew unto 'you that eternal life, which was with the Father and 'appeared unto us. That *same thing* (om. T.) which we 'have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye may 'have fellowship with us, and that our fellowship may be 'with the Father and His Son Jesus Christ[1].' (1 John i. 1—3.)

'the resurrection.' (*W. T. yet once more to the Christian reader*, in the N.T. of 1534.) Thus in Matt. xxii. 23, 30, we read 'life after this;' xxii. 31, 'the life of them that be dead.' So also Luke xx. 27, 33, 36 (children of that life). John v. 29 is translated 'and shall come forth, they that have done good unto the very life, and they that have done evil into the life of damnation.' In John xi. 4, 25 the word 'resurrection' is retained. From these examples *it is* obvious that Joye's object was simply exegetical in the particular passages which he altered, and that he had no desire to expunge the idea or the word 'resurrection' from his version. Later writers have not dealt justly with him.

[1] In John i. 1—18 the following noticeable variations occur:

1 *that* Word: and God *was that Word.* 4 life (om. *the*). 5 darkness (om. *the*). 10 and the world (om. *yet*). 11 *into* his own and his (om.

Chap. ii. External History.

Several of the changes noticed are suggested by the Vulgate; others are due apparently only to a mistaken effort to obtain clearness: none mark a critical examination of the original. But Joye knew that Tyndale was studying the Greek afresh for his revised edition, which he had had some time in hand, and so he might well be said not to have 'used the office of an honest man.' However Tyndale's own work was ready in the November of the same year. The text was not only revised, but furnished also with short marginal notes. Prologues were added to the several books[1]; the beginnings and endings of the lessons read in Church were marked; and a translation of 'the Epistles taken out of 'the Old Testament, which are read in the Church after 'the Use of Salisbury upon certain days of the year,' which include a large number of fragments from the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, classed together by Tyndale under one head[2].

Tyndale's revised edition, 1534.

own) received. 15 bare witness of him, saying. 16 *favour for favour.* 17 *favour and verity.*

In Ephes. i. again these are found: 5 that we should be *chosen to be* heirs. 6 in *his* beloved *son.* 8 wisdom and *prudency.* 13 the Gospel of your *health.* 18 what *thing* that hope is.

[1] On the relation of these Prologues to Luther's, see Chap. III.

[2] The relation of the 'Epistles' containing translations of the Old Testament to the text of Tyndale's continuous translation will be noticed afterwards. The following is (I hope) an accurate list of them. Gen. xxxvii. 6—22; Ex. xii. 1—11; xx. 12—24; xxiv. 12—18; Lev. xix. 1—18; Num. xx. 2—13; 1 Kings xvii. 17—24; xix. 2—8; Prov. xxxi. 10—31; Cant. ii. 1—14; *Is. i. 16—19*; ii. 1—5; vii. 10—15; *xi. 1—5; xii.* 1—6; xlix. 1—7; li. 1—8; liii. 1—12; lviii. 1—9; lx. 1—6; lxii. 6—12; Jerem. xvii. 13—18; xxiii. 6—8 (wrongly given xxxiii.); Ezech. i. 10—13; xviii. 20—28; xxxvi. 23—28; Joel ii. 12—19; 23—27; iii. 17—21; Hos. xiv. 1—9 (wrongly given xiii.); Amos ix. 13—15; Zech. ii. 10—13; viii. 3—8; Mal. iii. 1—4. From the Apocrypha, Esther xiii. 8—18; Wisd. v. 1—5; Ecclus. xv. 1—6; xxiv. 7—15; 17—22; xliv. 17; xlv. 4 (part); li. 9—12.

In his reference to these, Mr Anderson is singularly unhappy. He omits six of the chapters from which the passages are taken (he does not give the verses), and of those which he gives, six are wrong, from a confusion of x and v. He suppresses all the passages from the Apocrypha and converts Esther xiii. (apocryphal) into Esther viii. (canonical). He argues from the publication of these passages, 'that there were other chapters in

Anne Boleyn's copy.

One of the few copies of this edition which have been preserved is of touching interest. Among the men who had suffered for aiding in the circulation of the earlier editions of the Testament was a merchant-adventurer of Antwerp, Mr Harman, who seems to have applied to Queen Anne Boleyn for redress. The Queen listened to the plea which was urged in his favour, and by her intervention he was restored to the freedom and privileges of which he had been deprived. Tyndale could not fail to hear of her good offices, and he acknowledged them by a royal gift. He was at the time engaged in superintending the printing of his revised New Testament, and of this he caused one copy to be struck off on vellum and beautifully illuminated. No preface or dedication or name mars the simple integrity of this copy. Only on the gilded edges in faded red letters runs the simple title *Anna Regina Angliæ*[1].

The interest of the Queen in the work of Tyndale appears to have extended yet further[2]: an edition of his revised New Testament, the first volume of Holy Scripture printed in England, appeared in the year in which she was put to death (1536), and from the press of a

'manuscript' (I. p. 570), wholly neglecting to notice that these lessons were a definite collection from the service book. It is not generally worth while to note mistakes, but this error deserves to be signalized, because it does not spring from inaccuracy, but apparently in some degree from want of candour, for Mr Anderson labours to shew that Tyndale would not have translated the Apocrypha.

[1] The copy was bequeathed to the British Museum by the Rev. C. M. Cracherode in 1799, but I have been unable to learn its previous history. It may have been 'bound in blue morocco' when it was *presented to* Anne Boleyn, as Mr Anderson says (I. 413), though it is very unlikely: the present binding is obviously of the last century.

The shield on the title-page is filled with the arms of France and England quarterly. The first quarter is defaced, and the outline of the wood-engraving below is mixed with the charge. The capitals are exquisitely illuminated throughout.

[2] The 'lady Anne' had at an earlier time had a perilous adventure from lending to one of her ladies a copy of Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man*. The narrative is quoted in Tyndale's *Works*, I. p. 130.

Chap. ii. External History.

Tyndale's work crowned at London and at Vilvorde.

printer with whom her party was connected[1]. Tyndal who suffered in the same year, may have been martyr before the book was finished, but at least he must hav been cheered with the knowledge of its progress. H had worked for thirteen years an exile by foreign instr ments, and now in his last moments he was allowed t rejoice in the thought that his labour had found i proper home in his own land. For this end he ha constantly striven: for this he had been prepared t sacrifice everything else; and the end was gained onl when he was called to die.

His martyrdom.

It is impossible to follow in detail the circumstance of Tyndale's betrayal and martyrdom, yet the story i well worth pondering over. Some of the life-like touche in Foxe's narrative bring out the singleness of the cha racter of the man whom he worthily called 'for his nota 'ble pains and travail an apostle of England.' One wor had absorbed all his energy, and intent on that he ha no eye for other objects. The traitor by whose device he was taken (May, 1535) seemed to him, in spite of warn ings, 'honest, handsomely learned and *very conformable*.' He even furnished him with money, 'for in the wily sub 'tilties of this world he was simple and inexpert.' But in defence of himself Tyndale needed no counsel; even by an adversary he was called 'a learned, pious and good 'man:' his keeper, and his keeper's daughter, and others of his keeper's household were won over by him to his belief. His last prayer when fastened to the stake (Oct.

[1] This was not T. Berthelet, as is commonly supposed, but T. Godfray. This fact has been ascertained beyond all doubt by Mr Bradshaw. The engraved border, on the evidence of which the work has been assigned to Berthelet, was used by Godfray before it passed into Berthelet's possession; and there is no evidence that Berthelet used it as early as 1536.

The edition ends with the significant words, 'God save the King, and 'all his well willers.'

5) witnessed equally to his loyalty and his faith: *rd! open the King of England's eyes.*'

His last New Testament.

Before his imprisonment Tyndale revised his New tament once again for the press. This last edi- contains one innovation in the addition of head- s to the chapters in the Gospels and Acts, but not in Epistles; and is without the marginal notes, which re added to the edition of 1534. But it is chiefly tinguished by the peculiarity of the orthography, ich has received a romantic interpretation. Tyndale, we have seen, had affirmed that 'he who followeth he plough' should in a few years have a full knowledge the Scripture, and from the occurrence of such words *maester, faether, moether, stoone*, in this edition it was ncluded by a biographer that in his last years he dapted his translation to 'the pronunciation of the easantry.' The conjecture seemed plausible and it is arcely surprising that it has been transformed by repe- tion into an acknowledged fact. It is however not borne ut by an examination of the book itself. Whatever ay be the explanation of the orthography it is evident rom its inconsistency that it was not the result of any ixed design. Nay more, there is not the least reason to uppose that some of the forms are provincial, or that he forms as a whole would make the language plainer o rustics. The headings too, which have been also sup- posed to have been designed 'to help to the understand- ing of the subjects treated of,' just fail when on that heory they would be most needed[1].

[1] Two copies of this edition are known. That which I have used is in the University Library at Cambridge. The orthography in the Table of the four Evangelists and the Prologue to the Romans which follows (not displaced by the binder) offers no marked peculiarities. In sheet A we find *aengell, waeye, faether, waere, saeyde, moether, aroese, behoelde, toeke, harde* (heard), &c. &c. In B, *maester, mother, moether, fa-*

Chap. ii. External History.

The fulfilment of his work.

But though this pleasant fancy of the literal fi ment of an early promise must be discarded, Tyn achieved in every way a nobler fulfilment of it. Ins of lowering his translation to a vulgar dialect, he l up the common language to the grand simplicity o own idiom. 'It pleased God,' as he wrote in his Prologue, 'to put [the translation] in his mind,' and look at his life and his work, we cannot believe tha was left without the Spirit of God in the execution His single honesty is beyond all suspicion. 'I call 'to record,' so he writes to Fryth in the Tower, 'against the day we shall appear before our Lord J 'to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never al 'one syllable of God's word against my conscienc 'would this day, if all that is in the earth, whether 'pleasure, honour or riches, might be given me[1].' one selfish thought mixed with his magnificent dev No treacherous intrigues ever shook his loyalty t king: no intensity of distress ever obscured his fa Christ. 'I assure you,' he said to a royal envoy[2],

'her, sayd (consistently), *fayth, stoede,* &c. In C, *sayde, angels, moether, harde, maester, master, father,* &c. In D, *faether, moether, mother, sayde, hearde,* &c. In F on one side, *faether, moether, broether,* and on the other, *angels, sayde, daye, brother, told, hearde,* &c. In Y and Z we have almost consistently *faeyth, saeyde, hoepe, almoest, praeyer,* &c. Yet again in b *prayer,* &c. In the headings of the Epistles we have *saynct* and *saeynct.* Some spellings certainly belong to a foreign compositor, *thongs* (tongues, 1 Cor. xiii.); *thaugh* (taught). Some I cannot explain, *caled* (called), *holly* 'holy), which forms are consistently used. Of possible explanations none seems more likely than that the copy was read to a Flemish compositor (at Brussels? or Malines?) and that the vowels simply give the Flemis valents of the English vowel : See Note at the end of the se

The text is carefully revised, be shewn afterwards, and the headings are simply transferr the table of the Gospels and the Testament of 1534. [Mr has since found substantially th text in an edition dated 1534 (i.e. probably 1535, Jan.—Ma

[1] Tyndale's *Works,* p. 4 1573).

[2] Vaughan's dispatch (1531) by Anderson, I. p. 278. Fryt guage (1533) is to the same 'This hath been offered you 'fered, and shall be offered. 'that the Word of God, I m 'text of Scripture, may go ab 'our English tongue, as other

'would stand with the king's most gracious pleasure to 'grant only a bare text of the Scripture to be put forth 'among his people, like as it is put forth among the 'subjects of the emperor in these parts [the Netherlands], 'be it the translation of what person soever shall please 'his majesty, I shall immediately make faithful promise 'never to write more, nor abide two days in these parts 'after the same; but immediately repair into his realm, 'and there most humbly submit myself at the feet of his 'royal majesty, offering my body to suffer what pain or 'torture, yea what death his grace will, *so that this be 'obtained.*' His life had seemed friendless, but his one dearest companion (Fryth) may interpret the temper common to them both. 'Doubt not,' he writes from the Tower to his desolate congregation, 'but that GOD...shall 'so provide for you that ye shall have an hundred fathers 'for one: an hundred mothers for one: an hundred houses 'for one: and that in this life, *as I have proved by experi-'ence*[1].' We dilute the promise by our comments: these martyrs proved it in their lives.

Tyndale's last words on his translation.

The worth of Tyndale as a scholar must be estimated by his translation, which will be examined afterwards. Of the spirit in which he undertook the great work of his life something has been said already. To the end he retained unchanged, or only deepened and chastened, his noble forgetfulness of self in the prospect of its accomplishment, with a jealous regard for the sincere rendering of the Scriptures. Before he published the revised edition of 1534 he had been sorely tried by the interference of Joye, which might, as he thought, bring discredit to the Gospel itself. The passage with which

'have it in their tongues, and my bro- 'ther William Tyndale and I have 'done, and will promise you to write 'no more. If you will *not grant this 'condition, then will we be doing 'while we have breath, and shew in 'few words that the Scripture doth in 'many; and so at the least save some.'* Fryth's *Works*, p. 115 (ed. 1573).

[1] Anderson, I. 345.

Chap. ii. External History.

he closes his disclaimer of Joye's edition reflects at on
his vigour and its tenderness. There is in it somethi
of the freedom and power of Luther, but it is charg
with a simple humility which Luther rarely if ever she
...'My part,' Tyndale writes, 'be not in Christ if mi
'heart be not to follow and live according as I teach, a
'also if mine heart weep not night and day for mine o
'sin and other men's indifferently, beseeching God
'convert us all and to take his wrath from us and to
'merciful as well to all other men, as to mine o
'soul, caring for the wealth of the realm I was born
'for the king and all that are thereof, as a tender-hear
'mother would do for her only son.

'As concerning all I have translated or otherw
'written, I beseech all men to read it for that purpos
'wrote it, even to bring them to the knowledge of
'Scripture. And as far as the Scripture approveth
'so far to allow it, and if in any place the word of G
'disallow it, there to refuse it, as I do before our Savi
'Christ and His congregation. And when they find fa
'let them shew it me, if they be nigh, or write to me
'they be far off: or write openly against it and impro
'it, and I promise them, if I shall perceive that th
'reasons conclude I will confess mine ignorance openl

'Wherefore I beseech George Joye, yea and all oth
'too, for to translate the Scripture for themselves, whet
'out of Greek, Latin, or Hebrew. Or, if they will nee
'...let them take my translations and labours, and cha
'and alter, and correct and corrupt at their pleasu
'and call it their own translations and put to their o
'names, and not to play bo-peep after George Jo
'manner...But I neither can nor yet will suffer of
'man that he shall go, take my translation, and cor
'it without name, and make such changing as I my

durst not do, as I hope to have my part in Christ, though the whole world should be given me for my labour[1].'

[1] 'W. T. yet once again to the Christian Reader' in the N. T. of 534. I cannot find this address in ny copy of Tyndale's Works published by the Parker Society. Part of it is given in the *Life*, pp. lxii. ff.

The Grenville fragment of Tyndale's first quarto Testament with glosses has been perfectly reproduced in photo-lithography by Mr E. Arber, London, 1871.

The first octavo has been printed: (1) by Mr Offor, but this edition, though verbally accurate, is wholly untrustworthy in spelling; and (2) in fac-simile by Mr F. Fry with most scrupulous exactness.

The revised edition of 1534 (M. Emperour) is given in Bagster's Hexapla, carefully and well, as far as I have observed.

The final revision of 1535 [or 1534 G. H.] has not yet been published as a whole or in a collation, though it is from this that Tyndale's work has passed directly into our Authorised Version.

NOTE to p. 52.

Mr F. Fry has made an ample collection of the spellings peculiar to or characteristic of the edition of 1535. By the help of this, which he most kindly communicated to me, I have drawn up the following table of the substitutions of vowel sounds. They seem to me to fall (as Mr W. A. Wright has suggested) under the general description which Bosworth has given of the peculiarities of the Flemish orthography: *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. cxi. The unequal distribution of the peculiarities to which attention has been called already (p. 51, n. 1) is a most important fact in this connexion:

ae for a
abstaeyne, aengell, awaeke, caeke, caese, faether, graece, maester, raether, shaell, greaet

ae for ay
vaele (vayle 1534)

ae for ea
aete (eate), paerle (pearl), recaeve (receave 1534), swaerdes (sweardes 1534)

ae for e
belaeved (beleved 1534), decaevable (decevable 1534), dekaeye (dekeye 1534), naedeth (nedeth 1534)

oe for o
aboede, accoerde, almoest, anoether, aroese, avoeyde, boedy, boeke, broether, choese, coelde, hoepe, moether, roese

oe for ou
foere (foure 1534)

oe for e
knoeled (kneled 1534)

oo for o
boones, coostes (costes), hoow, loo (lo), moore, moost, oone, oonly, oons (once), roope, thoorow, whoo, whoose

ye for y
abyede (abyde 1534)

ey for e
agreyment (agrement 1534)

ee for e
heere, preest (prest), spreede (sprede 1534), teell, theese

ea for a
eare (are)

ie for y (i)
bliend

ea for e
streates (stretes), fealde (felde 1534), hear (her), neade (nede 1534)

ae for ay
chaene (chayne 1534), counsael (counsayle 1534)

ue for u
crueses, ruele, ruelers.

§ 2. COVERDALE.

Tyndale's character is heroic. He could see clearly the work to which he was called and pursue it with a single unswerving faith in GOD and in the powers which GOD had given him. It was otherwise with Miles Coverdale, who was allowed to finish what Tyndale left incomplete. The differences of the men are written no less on their features than on their lives. But our admiration for the solitary massive strength of the one must not make us insensible to the patient labours and tender sympathy of the other[1]. From the first Coverdale appears to have attached himself to the liberal members of the old party and to have looked to working out a reformation from within through them. As early as 1527 he was in intimate connexion with Crumwell and More[2]; and in all probability it was under their patronage that he was able to prepare for his translation of Holy Scripture. How long he thus laboured we cannot tell[3]. In 1529 he met Tyndale at Hamburgh[4], and

His early connexion with More and Crumwell.

Some sounds are expressed in different ways, especially 'o.' Thus we have *aloene* and *aloone; boeldely* and *booldly; boethe* and *booth; coete* and *coote; hoeme* and *hoome; loeke* and *louke* (*loke* 1534); *noene* and *noane; stoene* and *stoone; thoese* and *thoose; whoem* and *whoom.* So also we have *theare* and *theere; tought* and *thaught* (*taught*).

Other exceptional forms are tappe (top), touth (to the 1534), waere and woere (where), woeld (would); te (the); mouny (money).

[1] The later Puritanism of Coverdale is consistent with this view of his character. He was a man born rather to receive than to create impressions.

[2] Anderson, I. p. 186.

[3] In an undated letter to Crumwell he says, evidently in reference to some specific 'communication' from him, 'Now I begin to taste of 'Holy Scriptures...Nothing in the 'world I desire but books as con- 'cerning my learning: they once had, 'I do not doubt, but Almighty God 'shall perform that in me which he 'of his plentiful favour and grace 'hath begun.' Anderson fixes this in 1531. The letter however from style seems to be nearly contemporary with another addressed to Crumwell in 1527.

[4] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, V. 120. I see nothing derogatory to Tyndale or improbable in Foxe's explicit statement that at this time Coverdale helped him in translating the Pentateuch; though on such a point Foxe's unsupported statement is not sufficient evidence.

ıust have continued abroad for a considerable part of ıe following years up to 1536. In the meantime a ·eat change had passed over England since the 'Bill' of ;30[1]. At the close of 1534 a convocation under the esidency of Cranmer had agreed to petition the king at he would 'vouchsafe to decree that a translation of he Scriptures into English should be made by certain onest and learned men whom the king should nomiate; and that the Scriptures so translated should be elivered to the people according to their learning[2].' rumwell, who must have been well aware of the turn hich opinion had taken, seems now to have urged overdale to commit his work to the press. At any ıte by 1534 he was ready, 'as he was desired,' 'to *set ·orth*' (i.e. to print) his translation[3], and the work was nished in October, 1535.

His Bible sent to the press.

But up to the present time the place where it was rinted is wholly undetermined, though most bibliographers agree that it was printed abroad. Various conctures have been made, but when examined minutely ıey are found to be unsupported by any substantial ridence. The wood-cuts and type are certainly not ıose used by Egenolph of Frankfort, to which however ıey bear a very close resemblance[4]. On the other

[1] See p. 44.

[2] Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 34. It is certain whether it was after this solution (as seems most likely), or t till after the corresponding resoions of 1536, that Cranmer endeaured to engage the bishops in a nslation or revision of the English ble [New Testament], of which empt Strype has preserved an amusg anecdote: *Cranmer*, p. 48. Strype says that Cranmer took 'an *ld* English translation which he livided into nine or ten parts...to e sent to the best learned bishops 'and others, to the intent they should 'make a perfect correction thereof.' It has been argued that the epithet 'old' can only refer to a copy of the Wycliffite version—as if that were available for such a purpose; but in point of fact the epithet is not found in Foxe's MSS., to which Strype refers as the authority for his account.

[3] The date is added in the edition of 1550. The words do not imply that he commenced it then.

[4] Mr F. Fry on *Coverdale's Bible of* 1535, p. 32. On this point I have satisfied myself completely.

Three title-pages.

hand, no book printed by Froschover of Zurich has yet been found with more than the two larger kinds of type used in Coverdale's Bible[1]. The question is further complicated by the fact that the title-page and preliminary matter were reprinted in a different (English) type[2], and the five remaining title-pages represent three distinct issues, two in 1535, and one in 1536. Two copies have a title-page corresponding to the body of the book, dated 1535, and one of them preserves a single page of the original preliminary matter. Another copy has a title-page in English type, corresponding to the English preliminary matter, dated also 1535. The two other title-pages are printed in English type, but with the date 1536[3]. Thus there can be no reason to doubt that the book was issued both with the foreign and English title-pages, &c.[4], though it may still be doubted whether the English title-page, &c. belongs to 1536 or to 1535[5].

The differences of the title-pages.

One important difference between the foreign and

[1] Mr Fry, *l.c.* p. 28. It is right to add that I am convinced, on internal grounds, that Froschover was the printer, though at present no satisfactory direct evidence of the fact can be adduced. Froschover, it may be added, printed the edition of 1550.

[Dr Ginsburg informs me that he has complete typographical proof that the Bible was printed by Froschover.]

[2] Probably, as Mr Fry shews, by Nycolson: *l.c.* p. 20.

In the same way the title-page and preliminary matter of the edition of 1550 printed abroad were cancelled, and a new title-page &c. printed in England substituted in their place.

[3] See App. II.

[4] The fragment of the foreign printed Prologue offers only one important variation from the corresponding part of the English Prologue: Mr *Fry, l. c. p. 18.*

It is of course impossible to determine the cause of the suppression of the foreign title-page and Prologue. Coverdale may have explained too much in detail 'the Douche and La-'tin' sources from which he borrowed to suit the wishes of his patrons or publishers. The change in the title-page suggests the conjecture, which is however otherwise unsupported.

[5] It is possible (as has been suggested to me) that when some copies of the English title-page had been struck off with the date 1535, corresponding to the imprint, this date was afterwards changed in the setting of the page to 1536 to suit the actual time of the English issue; so that the two title-pages belong really only to one issue. The only difference observable in the fac-similes of the two title-pages is the inversion of one of the ornaments on the side of BIBLIA.

English title-pages must be noticed. In the former it is said that the book is 'faithfully and truly translated out 'of Dutch [German] and Latin into English:' in the latter the sources of the version are left unnoticed, and it is said simply to be 'faithfully translated into English.' It is possible that the explanatory words taken in connexion with some further details in the original prologue may have been displeasing to the promoters of the edition, and that a new and less explicit title-page, &c. was substituted for the first. However this may have been, the statement itself, as will be seen afterwards, was literally true, and Coverdale describes clearly enough in the existing prologue the secondary character of his work[1].

Coverdale's account of his work.

Coverdale indeed disclaims the originality which friends and detractors have alike assigned to him. And it is in this that the true beauty and truth of his nature are seen. He distinctly acknowledges that he could but occupy for a time the place of another; nay he even looks to this as the best fruit of his labours that he should call out a worthier successor to displace himself. 'Though Scripture,' he writes, 'be not worthily 'ministered to thee [good reader] in this translation 'by reason of my rudeness; yet if thou be fervent in 'thy prayer, GOD shall not only send it thee in a 'better shape *by the ministration of other that began 'it afore* (Tyndale), but shall also move the hearts 'of them which as yet meddled not withal to take it

[1] The supposition that the publication of the work was delayed by the fall of Q. Anne Boleyn is quite baseless. The substitution of the name of Q. Jane without any other alteration in the edition of 1537 is like that of the name of Edward VI. for Henry VIII. *in the edition of* 1550. The appropriateness of epithets was not much considered by early editors. Mr Fry has shewn, *l.c.* pp. 10 ff., that all the dedications found in copies of the first edition with Q. Jane's name belong to the edition of 1537.

Chap. ii. External History.

'in hand and to bestow the gift of their understanding 'thereon[1].'...

His motives.

Yet in the meantime he saw that there was something for him to do. It was a noble end if he could secure that Holy Scripture should be 'set forth' (as he was able to obtain) 'with the Kynge's most gracious 'license.' And so plainly disclosing his motives he says...'when I considered how great a pity it was that 'we should want it so long and called to my remem-'brance the adversity of them which were not only of 'ripe knowledge, but would also with all their hearts 'have performed that they begun if they had not had 'impediment.....these and other reasonable causes con-'sidered I was more bold to take it in hand. And to 'help me herein I have had sundry translations not only 'in Latin but also of the Dutch (German) interpreters, 'whom because of their singular gifts and special dili-'gence in the Bible I have been the more glad to follow 'for the most part, according as I was required. But to 'say the truth before GOD it was neither my labour nor 'desire to have this work put in my hand; nevertheless 'it grieved me that other nations should be more plen-'teously provided for with the Scripture in their mother 'tongue than we: therefore when I was instantly re-'quired, though I could not do so well as I would, I 'thought it yet my duty to do my best and that with a 'good will[2].'

The good of many versions.

Some good indeed he did hope might permanently remain from his work. As the faithful and honest interpretation of one man it might serve as a kind of comment to another version.

...'Divers translations,' he writes, 'understand one

[1] *Coverdale's Remains*, p. 30 (ed. *Park. Soc.*).

[2] *Remains*, p. 12 (Prologue).

another and that in the head articles and ground of our most blessed faith though they use sundry words. 'Therefore methink we have great occasion to give 'thanks unto GOD, that He hath opened unto His 'Church the gift of interpretation and of printing, and 'that there are now at this time so many which with 'such diligence and faithfulness interpret the Scripture 'to the honour of God and edifying of His people[1]..... 'For the which cause according as I was desired[2] I took 'the more upon me to set forth this special translation, 'not as a checker, not as a reprover or despiser of 'other men's translations (for among many as yet I 'have found none without occasion of great thanksgiving 'unto GOD) but lowly and faithfully have I followed 'mine interpreters, and that under correction, and though 'I have failed anywhere (as there is no man but he miss-'eth in some things) love shall construe all to the best 'without any perverse judgment...If thou [reader] hast 'knowledge therefore to judge where any fault is made, 'I doubt not but thou wilt help to amend it, if love be 'joined with thy knowledge. Howbeit whereinsoever I 'can perceive by myself or by the information of other 'that I have failed (as it is no wonder) I shall now by 'the help of GOD overlook it better and amend it[3].'

The translation dedicated to Henry VIII.

The translation of Tyndale went forth to the world without any dedication or author's name. All that was personal was sunk in the grandeur of the message opened to Englishmen. But it could not be so with Coverdale's. His object was to bring about the *open* circulation of the Scriptures, and that could only be by securing the king's favour. To this end the work was dedicated to Henry VIII. in language which to us

[1] *Remains*, p. 13.
[2] In the edition of 1550 is added 'in 1534.'
[3] *Remains*, p. 14.

Chap. ii. External History.

now is in many parts strangely painful, though it was not out of harmony with the taste and peculiar circumstances of the time[1].

...'I thought it my duty,' he says, 'and to belong 'to my allegiance when I had translated this Bible, not 'only to dedicate this translation unto your highness, 'but wholly to commit it unto the same; to the intent 'that if anything therein be translated amiss (for in 'many things we fail even when we think to be sure) 'it may stand in your grace's hands to correct it, to 'amend it, to improve it, yea and clean to reject it, if 'your godly wisdom shall think it necessary.' But even so the spirit of the humble and true scholar asserts itself. For he continues, 'And as I do with all humble-'ness submit mine understanding and my poor transla-'tion unto the spirit of truth in your grace, so I make 'this protestation, having GOD to record in my conscience, 'that I have neither wrested nor altered so much as one 'word for the maintenance of any manner of sect, but 'have with a clear conscience purely and faithfully trans-'lated this out of five sundry interpreters, having only 'the manifest truth of the Scripture before mine eyes[2].'...

A Latin-English Testament.

Still acting on the broad principle of 'becoming all 'things to all men,' Coverdale afterwards (1538) revised his New Testament according to the Latin and published it with the Vulgate in parallel columns[3]. His great

[1] The Dedication of the Authorised Version is even more painful and less capable of excuse. It seems strange that this should hold its place in our Bibles while the noble Preface is universally omitted.

[2] *Remains*, p. 11.

[3] Of this *Latin-English Testament* there are three editions. The first *was printed by* Nycolson 1538 and *dedicated to* Henry VIII. This was executed while Coverdale was in Paris and disowned by him on the ground that 'as it was disagreeable 'to my former translation in Eng 'lish, so was not the true copy of 'the Latin text observed' (*Remains*, p. 33). Accordingly he revised it, 'weeding out the faults that were 'in the Latin and English before' (*id.*), and printed a new edition in Paris in the same year which was

›bject was to interpret the Latin itself to some who used t ignorantly, and also to shew openly the substantial dentity of Scripture in different languages. Many dis-›araged this translation or that...'as though,' he says, the Holy Ghost were not the Author of His Scripture 'as well in the Hebrew, Greek, French, Dutch and in 'English as in Latin. The Scripture and word of God 'is truly to every Christian man of like worthiness and 'authority in what language soever the Holy Ghost 'speaketh it. And therefore am I and will be while I 'live under your most gracious favour and correction,'—he is still addressing Henry VIII.—'alway willing and 'ready to do my best as well in one translation as an-'other[1].' And thus in the particular case of translations from different texts he reaffirms his general principle of the utility of various translations, applied before to various renderings of the same text...'for thy part, 'gentle reader, take in good worth that I here offer thee 'with a good will and let this present translation be no 'prejudice to the other, that out of the Greek have been 'translated before or shall be hereafter. For if thou

published by Grafton and Whitchurch, and dedicated to Lord Crumwell. Nycolson however put forth another impression of his edition under the name of John Hollybushe (1538).

It is probable that Coverdale simply left instructions with the printer as to how the work should be done, not foreseeing the difficulties which would arise, and that the printer engaged Hollybushe to superintend the work which Coverdale when he saw it disavowed. Coverdale's own Testament is an adaptation of his version to the Latin. Hollybushe's is a new version from the Latin on the basis of Coverdale's. Specimens are given in App. VI.

The titles of the two principal editions are the following:

The newe testament both Latine and Englyshe ech correspondent to the other after the vulgare text, commonly called S. Ieroms. Faythfully translated by Myles Couerdale Anno MCCCCCXXXVIII..... Printed in Southwarke by James Nicolson. Set forth wyth the Kynges moost gracious licence.

The new testament both in Latin and English after the vulgare texte: which is red in the churche. Translated and corrected by Myles Couerdale: and prynted in Paris by Fraunces Regnault. MCCCCCXXXVIII in Nouembre...Cum gratia et privilegio regis.

[1] *Remains*, p. 27.

'open thine eyes and consider well the gift of the Ho
'Ghost therein, thou shalt see that one translation d
'clareth, openeth and illustrateth another, and that
'many places one is a plain commentary unto another

Coverdale's Bible not distinctly sanctioned by the King in 1535.

It is very difficult to ascertain the exact relation
which the first edition of Coverdale's Bible stood to t
civil authority. There can be no doubt that it was u
dertaken by the desire of Crumwell, and its appearan
may have been hastened by the change of feeling whi
found expression in the resolutions of Convocation
1534, though it could not have owed its origin to them
But when it was finished in October 1535 Crumwe
appears to have been unable to obtain a definite licen
from the king, or it may be that he thought it mo
prudent to await the publication of the book. So muc
is certain that the first edition went forth without a
distinct royal sanction. The book was not suppressed
and this was all[2]. But Convocation was not satisfied
and in 1536 they again petitioned that a new translatio
might be undertaken. Nothing however was done; bu
the relation in which the king stood to the Papal Se
had already given greater importance to the public re-
cognition of the supremacy of Scripture.

A council held by Crumwell.

So it happened that when a council was held in the
next year under the presidency of Crumwell, as vica
general, to determine certain articles of faith, the varie-
ties of opinion about Scripture found vigorous expressio
Alexander Ales has left a vivid account of the meeting
which has been transcribed by Foxe. 'At the king'
'pleasure all the learned men but especially the bishop
'assembled, to whom this matter seemed to belong.....

[1] *Remains*, p. 36.

[2] On the whole it seems best to
-erdale's account of the re-
ference of 'his Bible' by the King
the Bishops to the Great Bible. S
p. 76, n. 1.

'The bishops and prelates attending upon the coming of Crumwell, as he was come in, rose up and did obeisance unto him as to their vicar-general, and he again saluted every one in their degree, and sat down in the highest place at the table, according to his degree and office.....' Thereupon Crumwell opened the discussion by sketching in a short speech the king's purpose and commands. ['He will not] admit' he said 'any articles or doctrine not contained in Scripture, but approved only by continuance of time and old custom, and by unwritten verities as ye were wont to do.....His majesty will give you high thanks if ye will act and conclude a godly and perfect unity, whereunto this is the only way and mean, if ye will determine all things by the Scripture, as God commandeth you in Deuteronomy; which thing his majesty exhorteth and desireth you to do.' On this 'the bishops rose up altogether giving thanks unto the king's majesty.....for his most godly exhortation.....' There was less unanimity afterwards. The discussion turned upon the Sacraments. Cranmer wisely urged moderation and accuracy of definition. Ales, at the invitation of Crumwell, proceeded to investigate the meaning of the word. Stokesley, bishop of London, interrupted him as he was examining the opinions of the fathers, and was in turn checked by Fox of Hereford, who reminded both that 'they were commanded by the king that these controversies should be determined only by the rule and 'judgment of the Scripture.' Then specially addressing the bishops he continued.....'The lay people do now 'know the holy Scripture better than many of us; and 'the Germans have made the text of the Bible so plain 'and easy by the Hebrew and Greek tongues that now 'many things may be better understood without any

Chap. ii. External History.

'glosses at all than by all the commentaries of the 'doctors. And moreover they have so opened these 'controversies by their writings, that women and children 'may wonder at the blindness and falshood that have 'been hitherto.....Truth is the daughter of time, and time 'is the mother of truth; and whatsoever is besieged of 'truth cannot long continue; and upon whose side truth 'doth stand, that ought not to be thought transitory 'or that it will ever fall...' But Stokesley, hard pressed in the argument, replied to Ales with inconsiderate warmth.....'Ye are far deceived if ye think that there 'is none other word of God but that which every souter 'and cobbler doth read in his mother tongue. And if 'ye think that nothing pertaineth unto the Christian 'faith, but that only which is written in the Bible, then 'are ye plainly with the Lutherans ..... Now when the 'right noble lord Crumwell, the archbishop with the 'other bishops who did defend the pure doctrine of the 'Gospel, heard this, they smiled a little one upon an-'other, forasmuch as they saw him flee even in the very 'beginning of the disputation unto his old rusty sophis-'tries and unwritten verities.....' 'Thus through the 'industry of Crumwell the colloquies were brought to 'this end, that albeit religion could not wholly be re-'formed, yet at that time there was some reformation 'had through England[1].'

The second edition of Coverdale's Bible authorised 1357.

In the meantime the first edition of Coverdale's Bible was exhausted. The fall and death of Queen Anne, which had seemed likely to be fatal to the cause of the reformers, had not stayed the desire for the vernacular Scriptures which sprang from popular and not from political impulses. The feeling of the clergy and the

[1] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, v. 378 ff.

bishops was indeed divided on the question, but even among them the king could find sufficient support to justify a decided step in directly authorising the publication of the English Bible[1]. Two editions of Coverdale's translation 'overseen and corrected' were published by Nycolson in Southwark in 1537, and for the first time set forth with the king's most gracious license.' The name of Queen Jane was substituted for that of Queen Anne in the dedication without further change, and at length the English Bible was not only tacitly overlooked but distinctly allowed to circulate freely. Coverdale, through Crumwell's influence, had established a precedent, and successors were found at once to avail themselves of it.

Prayer before reading the Scriptures.

The revised edition of Coverdale differs slightly in text and arrangement from that of 1535. One significant addition is worthy of notice, 'A prayer to be used before reading the Bible: Because that when thou goest to study in Holy Scripture thou shouldest do it with reverence, therefore for thine instruction and loving admonition thereto, the reverend father in God Nicholas, Bishop of Salisbury, hath prescribed this prayer following, taken out of the same.

"O Lord God Almighty which long ago saidst by "the mouth of James thine Apostle: If any of you lack "wisdom, let him ask it of God.....Hear my petition "for this thy promise sake.....Have mercy upon me "and graciously hear me for Jesus Christs sake our

[1] According to Foxe Crumwell, as Vicegerent, issued in 1536 an injunction that by Aug. 1 every church should be provided 'with a book of the whole Bible in Latin and also in English...for every man that will to look and read therein...' (Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, v. 167.) It is however certain that this injunction was not *published*. The original draught may have contained the provision, which is the more likely as it is not similar in form to the corresponding injunction of 1538.

Chap. ii. External History.

"Lord, which liveth and reigneth with Thee, His Father "and the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen."

'After the end of any Chapter (if thou wilt) thou 'mayest say these verses following.

"Lead me O Lord in thy way, and let me walk in Thy "truth. Oh let mine heart delight in fearing thy name.

"Order my goings after Thy Word that no wicked- "ness reign in me.

"Keep my steps within thy paths, lest my feet turn "into any contrary way."[1]'

§ 3. MATTHEW (ROGERS).

Coverdale, we have seen, looked earnestly for the displacing of his own work by another. His prayers and the prayers of his readers were answered sooner than he could have hoped. Tyndale, at the time of his martyrdom, had published of the Old Testament the Pentateuch and book of Jonah, with a few detached pieces, being 'Epistles from the Old Testament according to the use 'of Salisbury,' including Lessons from Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom[2]. But he had left in manuscript, according to universal belief, a version of the books from Joshua to 2 Chronicles inclusive, which came into the hands of his friend John Rogers. This work was not to be lost; so Rogers, by the help of an unknown fellow-labourer Thomas Matthew, or simply under this assumed name[3], put together a composite Bible made up

The composition of Matthew's Bible.

[1] Coverdale's Bible of 1535 has been reprinted by Bagster, London, 1838; and, as far as I can judge, the reprint has been very well executed.

[2] This alone is sufficient to refute Anderson's supposition that Tyndale, *if he had lived, would not have been guilty of printing* the Apocryphal *with the Canonical* Books.

[3] In the former edition I expressed myself strongly against the identification of John Rogers and Thomas Matthew. The name Thomas Matthew stands at full at the end of the dedication and the initials I. R. at the end of the Exhortation to the study of Scripture. In the official sentence Rogers is described as 'Johannes

of Tyndale's translation from Genesis to 2 Chronicles, and his revised New Testament of 1535 (or 1534 G. H.)[1], with the remainder of the Old Testament including Jonah[2], and the Apocrypha from Coverdale. The expense of the work was defrayed by two citizens of London, R. Grafton and E. Whitchurch, and it was printed abroad[3]. It was ready for publication in 1537,

'Rogers alias Mathew, presbyter secularis' (Foxe, *Acts*, ed. 1563, p. 1029), and the earliest writers assume the identity of Rogers and Matthew. Compare Strype, *Mem.* III. 1, p. 288.

It is of course quite possible that the identification simply expressed the known responsibility of Rogers for the Bible called Matthew's. Compare Chester's *Life of J. Rogers* (London, 1861), pp. 47 f., 55 f., 113. At the same time it must be observed that the Christian name as well as the surname is changed, and the earliest evidence does not recognize this change.

[1] This will be shewn afterwards, c. II. § 3.

[2] A copy of Tyndale's translation of Jonah was found in 1861 by Lord A. Hervey, bound up in a volume of tracts. It has been published with the Prologue and Coverdale's version by Mr F. Fry in facsimile (1863). As some writers still venture to say that Matthew gives Tyndale's and not Coverdale's version, it may be worth while to indicate the various readings of one chapter (chap. ii.).

TYNDALE.	COVERDALE (MATTHEW).
1 *bowels*	1 *belly*
2 and + *he* said	2 om. *he*
tribulation	*trouble*
answered	*heard*
3 + *for* thou hadst	3 om. *for*
and all thy w.	*yea* all thy w.
+ *and* 7th	om. *and*
5 water	5 waters
*un*to	to
6 + *and* I went	6 om. *and*
+ *on every side* for e.	om. *on every side*
and yet thou	*but* thou
Lord	+ *O* Lord
broughtest	hast brought
8 *observe*	8 *hold of*
have forsaken	*will forsake*
him that was merciful unto them	*his mercy*
9 sacrifice + *unto thee*	9 + *do the* sacrifice
that saving c.	*For why? Salvation* c.

It is certain however that Coverdale's version was not independent of Tyndale's, as indeed this collation itself would shew.

[3] The place of printing has not yet been determined. Grafton's account of the work is given in Strype's *Cranmer*, App. 20.

Chap. ii. External History.

and furnished with a dedication to Henry and Queen Jane, drawn up in terms exactly similar in tenor to those which have been already quoted; 'for unto whom,' Matthew asks, 'or unto whose protection should the 'defence of such a work be sooner committed (where-'in are contained the infallible promises of mercy... 'with the whole sum of Christianity) than unto his 'Majesty, which not only by name and title but most 'evidently and openly, most christianly and with most 'godly policy doth profess the defence thereof.' And as men's thoughts were now anxiously turned to the future—it was shortly before the birth of Edward VI. —he concludes 'the everliving Lord...bless you at this 'present with a son by your most gracious wife Queen 'Jane, which may prosperously and fortunately reign 'and follow the godly steps of his father...'

Cranmer's joy at receiving it.

Whether Cranmer was privy to the preparation of this edition or not is uncertain[1], but it is evident that the authors of it had good reason to be assured that he would welcome its appearance. The first tidings of its arrival in England is contained in a letter which he addressed to Crumwell[2]. 'My especial good lord...', he writes, 'these shall be to signify unto the same that you 'shall receive by the bringer thereof a bible in English, 'both of a new translation and of a new print, dedicated 'unto the king's majesty, as further appeareth by a pistle 'unto his grace in the beginning of the book, which in 'mine opinion is very well done, and therefore I pray

Aug. 4, 1537.

[1] An impression is an intangible argument, but to me Cranmer's letter appears to be that of a man who was not taken by surprise by the New Bible. It is further to be remarked that Grafton (who joined in the publication) was acquainted with the contents of Cranmer's letter to Crumwell of Aug. 13th, and wrote to Crumwell with a present of six Bibles on the same day that Cranmer wrote the second letter of thanks. Cranmer's *Works*, p. 346 n. (Ed. Park. Soc.).

[2] Letter 194 (ed. Park. Soc.).

your lordship to read the same. And as for the translation, so far as I have read thereof, I like it better than any other translation heretofore made; yet not doubting but that there may and will be found some fault therein, as you know no man ever did or can do so well, but it may be from time to time amended. And forasmuch as the book is dedicated unto the king's grace, and also great pains and labour taken in setting forth of the same; I pray you, my Lord, that you will exhibit the book unto the king's highness, and to obtain of his grace, if you can, a license that the same may be sold and read of every person, without danger of any act, proclamation, or ordinance, heretofore granted to the contrary, until such time that we bishops shall set forth a better translation, which I think will not be till a day after doomsday[1]. And if you continue to take such pains for the setting forth of God's word as you do, although in the mean season you suffer some snubs and many slanders, lies, and reproaches for the same, yet one day He will requite altogether...' He was not long in waiting for the news of Crumwell's success. In *Aug.* 13. little more than a week he thanks him for that he 'hath 'not only exhibited the bible...to the king's majesty, 'but also hath obtained of his grace that the same shall 'be allowed by his authority to be bought and read *Allowed by the king to be sold publicly.* 'within this realm...[2];' and he continues, 'you have 'shewed me more pleasure herein than if you had given 'me a thousand pound...[3].' Nor was he satisfied with this first acknowledgment. A fortnight afterwards he writes again: 'These shall be to give you most hearty *Aug.* 28. 'thanks that any heart can think, and that in the name

[1] See p. 57, n. 2.

[2] It may have been at this time that Crumwell obtained the license for Coverdale's Bible also: p. 67.

[3] Letter 197.

Chap. ii. External History.

'of them all which favour God's word, for your diligence 'at this time in procuring the king's highness to set 'forth the said God's word and His gospel by his grace's 'authority. For the which act not only the king's 'majesty but also you shall have a perpetual laud and 'memory of all them that be now, or hereafter shall be, 'God's faithful people and the favourers of His Word[1].'

Difficulties overcome in obtaining the king's license for it.

The work which Crumwell had achieved was certainly one which required great address. The Preface to the Bible, to which Cranmer specially called his attention, may have smoothed his way; but the king could not have been ignorant that the translation was in part the very work of Tyndale, which he had by the advice of his council condemned more than once. The Prologue to the Romans had been condemned separately and was not to be easily overlooked, and the most superficial inspection would have shewn the boldness of the notes with which the text was copiously furnished[2]. It is impossible to tell what considerations

[1] Letter 198.

[2] The notes in Matthew are distributed not quite equally throughout the Old and New Testament. The commentary on the Psalms is the most elaborate. On the Apocryphal books I have noticed only a few various readings (2 Esdr. iv.: Tob. xii.: Ecclus. xxiii.: 2 Macc. ii.), and two notes: one on 2 Macc. iv. 'Olympiades: These were kepte 'euery fiftye yeare (sic)' where 'fiftye' is a misprint for Coverdale's 'fifth'; and the other of considerable interest on 2 Macc. xii. 'Judge upon this 'place whether the opinion hath 'been to pray for the dead, as to be 'baptised for them 1 Cor. xv., which 'thing was only done to confirm the 'hope of the resurrection of the dead, 'not to deliver them from any pain. 'S. Paul did not allow the ceremony 'of Christening for the dead, no 'more doth any place of the canonical scripture allow the ceremony of 'offering for the dead. Furthermore: This whole book of the 'Maccabees, and specially this second, is not of sufficient authority 'to make an article of our faith, as 'it is before sufficiently proved by 'the authority of S. Jerome in the 'prologue of the books called Apocrypha.'

One or two other notes may be quoted: John vi. 33. 'The word of 'the Gospel which is Christ, is the 'true and lively bread of heaven that 'giveth life to the whole world.' John v. 2. '*slaughter house*. The Greek 'hath *sheep house*, a place where they 'killed the beasts that were offered.' James ii. 24. '*Justified*, that is, is 'declared just, is openly known to 'be righteous, like as by the fruits 'the good tree is known for good.

availed with Henry. He may have been glad to act independently of the bishops. But however this may have been, by Cranmer's petition, by Crumwell's influence, and by Henry's authority, without any formal ecclesiastical decision, the book was given to the English people, which is the foundation of the text of our present Bible. From Matthew's Bible—itself a combination of the labours of Tyndale and Coverdale—all later revisions have been successively formed. In that the general character and mould of our whole version was definitely fixed. The labours of the next seventy-five years were devoted to improving it in detail.

Scheme for reprinting it.

Matthew's Bible must have been eagerly welcomed. In the same year in which it was imported a scheme was made for reprinting it in England in a smaller form by 'Douche men dwelling within this realm,' 'for covet-'ousness[1].' Grafton, who had ventured a large sum upon the original edition, which consisted of fifteen hundred copies, begged Crumwell for protection, and suggested that he might command in the king's name 'that every curate have one of them...yea and that 'every Abbey should have six...yea,' he adds, 'I would 'none other but they of the Papistical sort should be 'compelled to have them.' It does not appear what answer Crumwell gave. His action at least was effectual; for there is no reason to think that the reprint was ever executed[2]. Grafton and Whitchurch were reim-

'Otherwise may not this sentence be 'interpreted.....'

[1] Grafton's *Letter to Crumwell*, Strype, *Cranmer*, Ap. xx. Grafton speaks in undue disparagement of 'the former [Coverdale's] Bibles, 'which have neither good paper, 'letter, ink, nor correction.'

[2] Taverner's Bible does not answer fully to the description; otherwise it might be supposed that this 'smaller' edition was meant.

On the other hand Mr F. Fry informs me that 'Mr Lenox has the 'centre of a first title and last leaf of 'a Matthew which he considers to 'belong to the pirated edition,' and that he himself has 'two leaves 'which may be of it.'

Chap. ii. External History.

bursed for their expenditure; and in the next year they were ready to embark in a new enterprise, which was designed to supplant their first, and undertaken under the direct patronage of Crumwell[1].

§ 4. The Great Bible (Crumwell, Cranmer, Tunstall and Heath).

Crumwell provides for the preparation of the Great Bible.

It is indeed evident that Crumwell's zeal for the circulation of the vernacular Scriptures could not be satisfied with the license which he had obtained for the Bibles of Coverdale and Matthew. The first was imperfect in its conception: the second was burdened with notes and additions which could not fail sooner or later to call out bitter antagonism. Under these circumstances he appears to have applied to Coverdale, who was in England in the early part of 1538, to undertake the charge of a new edition on the basis of Matthew's, but with a more complete critical collation of the Hebrew and Latin texts than had been hitherto attempted. Grafton and Whitchurch had earned by their former work the privilege of undertaking the conduct of this, but the resources of the English press were not adequate to carry it out as Crumwell wished. And so about Lent Coverdale proceeded with Grafton to Paris to superintend the printing there. A license was obtained from Francis for the execution of the work[2],

[1] Matthew's Bible was reprinted in 1549 (Raynalde and Hyll), and again in 1551 for several publishers (Cotton, p. 27 n.). It was also revised by E. Beck, and his altered text was published in 1549 by Day and Seres (both folio and 12mo). I have not however examined the texts of these editions at any length, but a cursory collation shews considerable differences in the reproductions both of Matthew and of Beck's revision, which extend alike to text and notes. An edition by Daye, 1551 (with 3 Macc.), gives the Old Testament text of Taverner, though it is called 'Matthew's.'

[2] The license granted by Francis is given by Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 756, App. xxx. After the permis-

which was commenced on a splendid scale by Regnault. Coverdale pressed forward the enterprise with all haste, for even from the first they were 'daily threatened and looked ever to be spoken withal.' By September he could inform Crumwell that 'Your Lordships work of the Bible...goeth well forward, and within four months will draw to an end by the grace of Almighty God.' Three months later when the text was almost finished the danger of interruption to the printing became imminent. Coverdale conveyed as much of the Bible as was ready to Crumwell by the help of Bishop Bonner, ambassador at Paris, that if 'the rest were confiscated yet this at least might be safe.' In four days more the expected inhibition came. An order from the inquisitor general for France forbade the further progress of the work and the removal of the printed sheets. Coverdale and Grafton made their escape, but not long after returned to Paris and conveyed presses, types and workmen to London, and even rescued a large quantity of the condemned sheets—'four great-dry vats' full—which had been sold to a tradesman as waste paper, instead of being burnt. Thus that which had seemed to be for the hindrance of Crumwell's design really forwarded it permanently in a wonderful manner by introducing into England the materials and men best suited to carry it out. The Bible, henceforth known as the *Great Bible*[1], was finished in April, but without the

June 23.

Sept. 12.

Dec. 13.

sion to print and export is added the provision: 'Dummodo quod sic imprimetis et excudetis sincere et pie, quantum in vobis erit, citra ullas privatas aut illegitimas opiniones impressum et excussum [excusum] fuerit....' This clause was of course sufficiently wide to admit of the interference of the inquisition.

[1] I have ventured to keep this name as a general title for the group of Bibles including Crumwell's Bible (1539) and the six later issues with Cranmer's Preface (1540-1), though it must be carefully borne in mind that these seven issues do not give the same text, however like they may be externally. The text of

critical and explanatory commentary which Coverdale had designed[1]. While the revision was going forward he had 'set in a private table the diversity of readings 'of all texts [Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, Latin] with such 'annotations in another table, as shall doubtless eluci- 'date and clear the same, as well without any singularity 'of opinions as all checkings and reproofs.' And when it was drawing to a close, he writes regretfully: 'Pity it 'were that the dark places of the text, upon which I 'have always set a hand (☞) should so pass unde- 'clared. As for any private opinion or contentious 'words, as I will utterly avoid all such, so will I offer the 'annotations first to my said Lord of Hereford [Bonner], 'to the intent that he shall so examine the same, afore

1539 is quite distinct from that of April 1540, and this again from that of November, 1540, 1541, which is in the main the text of the later reprints. Compare Chap. III.

[1] A copy of this edition on vellum designed for Crumwell and described by Coverdale himself, is now in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge.

It is worthy of remark that this Bible has no dedication. The title-page—said to have been designed by Holbein—represents (at the top) the king giving the Bible (Verbum Dei) to Crumwell and Cranmer: they in turn (on the sides) distribute it among ecclesiastics and laymen: at the bottom a crowd is listening to a preacher. Labels with various texts &c. issue from the mouths of the chief figures. The composition includes many other details and will repay a careful examination. It is well described in the *Historical Account*, p. 92.

The reference of 'Coverdale's Bible' to the Bishops by the king, and their confession that there were no heresies to be maintained thereby, appears to refer to this edition (Fryth, p. 78). See p. 64.

In a preliminary explanation of signs some account is given of the delay in the publication of the notes: 'We have also (as ye may see) added 'many hands both in the margin 'of this volume and also in the text, 'upon the which we purposed to 'have made in the end of the Bible '(in a table by themselves) certain 'godly annotations: but forasmuch 'as yet there hath not been sufficient 'time ministered to the king's most 'honourable Council for the over- 'sight and correction of the said 'annotations, we will therefore omit 'them till their more convenient 'leisure, doing now no more but 'beseech thee, most gentle reader, 'that when thou comest at such a 'place where a hand doth stand... 'and thou canst not attain to the 'meaning and true knowledge of 'that sentence, then do not rashly 'presume to make any private in- 'terpretation thereof, but submit 'thyself to the judgment of those 'that are godly learned in Christ 'Jesus.'

'they be put in print, if it be your Lordship's good 'pleasure that I shall do so.' But Coverdale's regret was ineffectual. The various marks which he designed remained in the text of several editions of the Great Bible, but nothing more than a general explanation of their import was ever given. The volume of 'anno-'tations' was deferred till a more convenient occasion, which never came. But in the mean time a complete English text of the Scriptures was provided for public use, which by an injunction framed beforehand Crumwell, as the king's vice-gerent, required should be set up in some convenient place in every church throughout the kingdom before a specified day[1]. 'A domino factum est 'istud' is the worthy motto with which it concludes[2].

Sept. 1538.

[1] There cannot be the least doubt that the 'Bible of the largest volume 'in English' was the edition being prepared in Paris. No one who has seen Coverdale's, Matthew's and Crumwell's Bibles together would hesitate as to the application of the description: the Bible and the injunction corresponded and were both due to the same man. I cannot agree with Mr Anderson in supposing Matthew's Bible to have been intended: II. 34, in spite of Strype, *Cranmer*, I. 117. The date by which the Bible was to be procured was left blank. At the time when the injunctions were drawn up, the interruption of the printing could not have been definitely foreseen. Similar proclamations were issued by the king in May 1540 immediately after the publication of the second (Cranmer's) Great Bible; and again in May 1541, after the publication of the third, which bore the names of Tunstall and Heath. Anderson, II. pp. 131, 142.

It may be added that Cranmer in his injunctions for the clergy of the diocese of Hereford (between May and November *1538*) requires that every one 'shall have by the 'first day of August next coming '(1539?), as well a whole Bible in 'Latin and English, or at least a 'New Testament of both the same 'languages, as the copies of the 'king's highness' injunctions.' These injunctions were probably issued after September, and the date fixed in 1539. Cranmer, *Works*, II. p. 81.

[2] One passage which occurs at the end of the Introduction is worthy of being quoted, and it seems characteristic of Coverdale:

'With what judgment the books 'of the Old Testament are to be 'read.

...'The books of the Old Testa-'ment are much to be regarded be-'cause they be as it were a manner 'of foundation whereunto the New 'Testament doth cleave and lean, out 'of the which certain arguments of 'the New Testament may be taken. 'For there is nothing shewed in 'the New Testament, the which was 'not shadowed before in the figures 'of Moses' Law, and forespoken in 'the revelations of the Prophe 'some things even evidently expre 'ed...'

Chap. ii. External History.

The Great Bible *Cromwell's work.*

There is no evidence to shew that Cranmer had any share in the first preparation of the Great Bible, or even that he was acquainted with the undertaking. The selection of Coverdale for the execution of the work, and Coverdale's correspondence, distinctly mark it as Cromwell's sole enterprise. But Cranmer was not slow in furthering it. By the autumn of the same year arrangements were completed for the printing of a new edition in London with the help of the materials obtained from Paris; and the archbishop had drawn up a preface for it, which he had transmitted to Crumwell for the approbation of the king. By a strange coincidence Crumwell received from Henry on the very day on which Cranmer wrote to him to make a final decision about the price, &c.[1], the absolute right of licensing the publication of Bibles in England for five years. Thus all difficulties were removed from the way, and the Bible with the Preface of the archbishop was finished in April 1540. Two other editions followed in the same year (July: November, the title-page is dated 1541): and three more in 1541 (May: November: December). These six editions all have Cranmer's prologue, but the third and fifth bear the names of Tunstall and Heath upon the title-page, who are said to have 'overseen and 'perused' the translation 'at the commandment of the 'King's Highness.' The cause of this nominal revision is obvious. Crumwell had been disgraced and executed

Cranmer prepares a Preface for the second edition.

Nov. 14.

Subsequent editions.

July 28.

[1] 'If your lordship hath known 'the king's highness' pleasure con- 'cerning the preface of the Bible 'which I sent you to oversee so that 'his grace doth allow the same, I 'pray you that the same may be 'delivered unto the said Whitchurche 'unto printing, trusting that it shall 'both encourage many slow readers 'and also stay the rash judgments of 'them that read therein.' Cranmer to Crumwell, Letter 264, Nov. 14th, 1539. From the long interval which elapsed before the completion of the Bible—five months—it appears likely that little was actually done before Cranmer was assured of the king's favour.

1 July. The work which he had taken so much to eart was naturally suspected; and thus the open sanc-ion of two bishops, prominent among the party op-osed to him, was required to confirm its credit. And o it was that at last by a strange irony 'my lord of London' authorised what was in a large part substan-ially the very work of Tyndale, which he had before ondemned and burnt[1].

The proposed Notes given up.

The variations in the texts of these editions of the Great Bible will be considered afterwards. But one im-portant change was made in the original design of the book which requires to be noticed now. Coverdale, as we have seen, looked upon the notes as an important part of the work, and the reference to them was retained through three editions[2]. With the fall of Crumwell all hope of publishing a commentary disappeared, and the 'pointing hands' were removed. It is not difficult to understand the objections to Coverdale's design, and a narrative which Foxe has preserved will explain the influence which led to its suppression.

'Not long after [the death of Crumwell],' he writes, 'great complaint was made to the king of the trans-lation of the Bible, and of the Preface of the same, and then was the sale of the Bible commanded to be stayed, the bishops promising to amend and correct it, but never performing the same. Then Grafton was

[1] The expense of these editions was defrayed, as seems certain, by 'Antony Marler a haberdasher' of London, who presented to Henry a magnificent copy on vellum, with an autograph inscription, which is preserved in the British Museum. Mr Anderson quotes a minute of the Privy Council bearing on his privileges with regard to the sale, dated April 1541 (II. p. 142), and a patent for printing the Bible alone for four years: March 1542 (II. p. 152).

[2] Of April 1539: April 1540: July 1540. After this the ☞ — the reference to *notes*—was omitted.

For the relation between the texts of the several issues of the Great Bible see Chap. III. § 4. I cannot tell by what surprising oversight Mr Anderson describes Crumwell's Bible as being *Matthew's* text.

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'called and first charged with the printing of Matthew's
'Bible, but he being fearful of trouble made excuses for
'himself in all things. Then was he examined of the
'Great Bible, and what notes he was prepared to make.
'To which he answered that he knew none. For his pur-
'pose was to have retained learned men to have made
'the notes, but when he perceived the king's majesty
'and his clergy not willing to have any he proceeded no
'further. But for all these excuses Grafton was sent to
'the Fleet, and there remained six weeks, and before he
'came out was bound in three hundred pounds that he
'should neither sell nor imprint or cause to be imprinted
'any more Bibles until the king and the clergy should
'agree upon a translation. And thus was the Bible from
'that time stayed during the reign of Henry VIII.'[1]

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The publication of the Great Bible and the injunction for its free exhibition in the Parish Churches marked a memorable epoch. The king in a declaration appointed 'to be read by all curates upon the publishing 'of the Bible in English' justly dwelt upon the gravity of the measure. He commanded 'that in the reading 'and hearing thereof, first most humbly and reverently 'using and addressing yourselves unto it'—the curate is speaking to his congregation—'you shall have always 'in your remembrance and memories that all things 'contained in this book is the undoubted will, law, and 'commandment of Almighty God, the only and straight 'mean to know the goodness and benefits of God to-'wards us, and the true duty of every Christian man to 'serve him accordingly...And if at any time by reading 'any doubt shall come to any of you, touching the sense 'and meaning of any part thereof; that then, not giving 'too much to your own minds, fancies and opinions

[1] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, II. p. 135 (fol. ed.).

ing thereof any open reasoning in your open or alehouses, ye shall have recourse to such men as be or shall be authorised to preach and the same. So that avoiding all contentions ɔutations in such alehouses and other places... this most high benefit quietly and charitably f you, to the edifying of himself, his wife and .[1]'

Bishop Bonner sets up Bibles at St Paul's.

ıg others Bp. Bonner 'set up Six Bibles in convenient places of St Paul's church,' after 's proclamation in May 1540[2], with an admo- readers to bring with them 'discretion, honest :harity, reverence and quiet behaviour. That ould be no such number meet together there as : a multitude. That no exposition be made ɔn but what is declared in the book itself. be not read with noise in time of divine service; any disputation or contention be used at it[3].' cely surprising that the novelty of the license :o the people should have led them to neglect tructions. Bonner was forced, as he pleads, by : disorders created by the readers to issue a ıonition in which he threatened the removal of :s. 'Diverse wilful and unlearned persons,' he nconsiderately and indiscreetly...read the same y and chiefly at the time of divine service... he time of the sermon and declaration of the ' God...Wherefore this is eftsoons of honest ip to require and charitably to desire and pray :ader of this Book that either he will indeed and keep my former advertisement and friendly ion adjoined hereunto...either else to take in

ype's *Cranmer*, II. 735—6. [2] See p. 77, n. 1.
[3] Strype's *Cranmer*, I. 120.

Chap. ii. External History.

'good part and be content that the said Bibles for the
'said abuses be taken down, for assuredly, the fault
'and disorder herein not amended but increased, I in-
'tend, being thereunto enforced, upon right good con-
'siderations, and especially for the said abuses, to take
'down the said Bibles, which otherwise I would be right
'loth to do, considering I have been always and still
'will be by God's grace right glad that the Scripture
'and Word of God should be well known and also set
'forth accordingly[1].'

The Bibles are generally read.

The popular zeal for reading the Scriptures was not always manifested thus inconsiderately. In a public document drawn up to justify the position of the English Church in 1539[2] great stress is laid upon the revolution in common habits which was thus effected. 'Englishmen have now in hand in every Church and 'place and almost every man the Holy Bible and New 'Testament in their mother tongue instead of the 'old fabulous and fantastical books of the *Table Round*, '*Launcelot du Lac*, &c. and such other, whose impure 'filth and vain fabulosity the light of God has abolished 'utterly.'

One narrative, which is derived from actual experience, will illustrate the feelings of the time. It was taken by Strype from a manuscript of Foxe.

'It was wonderful to see with what joy this book 'of God was received not only among the learneder 'sort and those that were noted for lovers of the reform- 'ation, but generally all England over among all the 'vulgar and common people; and with what greediness 'God's word was read and what resort to places where

[1] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, v. App. 14.

[2] A Summary Declaration of the Faith, Uses and Observations in England (dated 1539). Collier, *Ecclesiastical History*, II. *Collection of Records*, 47.

'stocks together, and to conceal it laid it under the bed
'straw and read it at convenient times. One night h
'father being asleep he and his mother chanced to di
'course concerning the crucifix, and kneeling down to
'and knocking on the breast then used, and holding u
'the hands to it when it came by on procession. Thi
'he told his mother was plain idolatry....His mothe
'enraged at him for this said, "Wilt thou not worshi
'the cross which was about thee when thou wert chri
'tened and must be laid on thee when thou art dead
'In this heat the mother and son departed and went t
'their beds. The sum of this evening's conference sh
'presently repeats to her husband; which he impatie
'to hear and boiling in fury against his son for denyi
'worship to be due to the cross, arose up forthwith an
'goes into his son's chamber and, like a mad zealo
'taking him by the hair of his head with both his hand
'pulled him out of the bed and whipped him unmerci
'fully. And when the young man bore this beating, a
'he related, with a kind of joy, considering it was fo
'Christ's sake and shed not a tear, his father seein
'that was more enraged, and ran down and fetched a
'halter and put it about his neck, saying he would hang
'him. At length with much entreaty of the mother and
'brother he left him almost dead[1].'

It would be impossible to paint in more vivid colours the result of the first open reading of the English Bible, and the revelation which it made of the thoughts of many hearts. Classes and households were divided. On the one side were the stern citizens of the old school to whom change seemed to be the beginning of license: on the other young men burning with eager zeal to carry to the uttermost the spiritual freedom of

[1] Strype's *Cranmer*, I. 91, 92.

hich they had caught sight. And between them were ıose to whom all they had been taught to reverence ras still inestimably precious while yet they could not ress to extremity those by whom the old tenets were ssailed.

§ 5. TAVERNER.

Taverner's Bible a revision of Matthew's.

While Crumwell was hurrying forward his Bible in Paris, another edition was being printed in London. This also was based on Matthew, and seems to have been executed in considerable haste. The editor was a layman and a lawyer, R. Taverner, who had a great reputation as a Greek scholar. At an earlier time he was one of the students of 'Cardinal College,' Oxford, who had suffered persecution upon the first circulation of Tyndale's New Testament. He was acquainted with Crumwell, and by his influence the king appointed him to be one of his clerks of the signet. In the reign of Edward VI. he had a special license to preach, and a quaint account has been preserved of the studiously unclerical habit—with a velvet bonnet and damask gown, and gold chain and sword—in which he discharged the duty. It was his humour also, as we are told, 'to quote 'the law in Greek.' These little touches are important, for they throw no small light upon the spirit in which he accomplished his revision. In one respect he stands above his predecessors. His Dedication to Henry is couched in language full at once of respect and manliness. He gives the king due credit for what he had done and speaks with modesty of his own labours:...

Taverner's account of his work.

'This one thing I dare full well affirm, that amongst all 'your majesty's deservings...your highness never did 'thing more *acceptable unto God*, more profitable to the

§ 6. A TIME OF SUSPENSE.

The revision of the Bible suspended.

After the publication of the Great Bible (1539—1541) the history of the English Version remains stationary for a long time. Nothing was done to amend it and severe restrictions were imposed upon its use. In 1542 a proposition was made in convocation in the king's name for a translation of the New Testament to be undertaken by the Bishops. The books were portioned out, but Gardiner brought the scheme to an end by pressing the retention of a large number of Latin terms which would practically have made a version such as the Rhemish one was afterwards[1]. As this condition was obviously inadmissible, the king, by Cranmer's influence, resolved to refer the translation to the two Universities. Convocation was no more consulted on the subject, and the Universities did nothing.

Feb. 17.

Restrictions on the use of the Bible.

In the next year Parliament proscribed all translations bearing the name of Tyndale, and required that the notes in all other copies should be removed or obliterated. At the same time it was enacted that no women (except noble or gentle women), no artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving-men, husbandmen, or labourers, should read to themselves or to others, publicly or privately, any part of the Bible under pain of imprisonment. Three years later (1546) the king repeated the prohibition against Tyndale's books with many others and included Coverdale's New Testament in the same category. Thus the Great Bible alone re-

[1] The list of words is a very strange one. With words like *ecclesia, pœnitentia, pontifex, peccatum, hostia, pascha, impositio manuum, confessio*, which have a dogmatic significance, are others which are practically proper names like *Christus, zizania, didrachma, tetrarcha*, and others again which have apparently no special force, as *simplex, dignus, ejicere, oriens, tyrannus*.

mained unforbidden, and it was probably at this time that the great destruction of the earlier Bibles and Testaments took place. And even where the book has been preserved, the title-page has been in many cases destroyed that the true character of the volume might escape the observation of a hasty inquisitor.

Bibles destroyed.

For the proclamation was not allowed to remain idle. The party of the 'old learning' even outran the letter of the edict. This had enjoined 'the burning of 'certain translations of the New Testament,' but, 'they 'were so bold as to burn the whole Bible, because they 'were of those men's, Tyndale's or Coverdale's, translation; 'and not the New Testament only.' Nay more, they were anxious to escape from the responsibility which they had incurred by sanctioning the Great Bible. Tunstall and Heath, who had been 'appointed to overlook 'the translation' at the time of Crumwell's execution, and had 'set their names thereunto, when they saw 'the world somewhat like to wring on the other side 'denied it; and said they never meddled therewith[1].'

Reaction on the accession of Edward VI.

But in the midst of this reaction Henry died (Jan. 28, 1547). The accession of Edward restored the reforming party to power, and the young king himself is said to have shewn a singular devotion to the Bible. According to some the English Bible was first used at his coronation[2]. 'When three swords were brought,' so Strype writes[3], 'signs of his being king of three king-'doms, he said, there was one yet wanting. And when 'the nobles about him asked him what that was, he an-'swered, *The Bible.* "That book," added he, "is the

[1] *A Supplication of the poor Commons*, printed in Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, I. 633 ff.

[2] The fact is not mentioned in the order of the Coronation printed by Burnet, and in part by Strype, *Cranmer*, I. 202 ff.

[3] *Eccles. Mem.* II. 35, on the authority of Bal. *de viris Illustr.*

sword of the Spirit, and to be preferred before these swords..." And when the pious young king had said this, and some other like words, he commanded the Bible with the greatest reverence to be brought and carried before him.' However this may have been, the work of printing the English Scriptures was carried on during his reign with great activity. Thirty-five Testaments and thirteen Bibles were published in England in the six years and a half for which he occupied the throne. The public use of them was made the subject of special admonition and inquiry. Among the injunctions issued by the king (1547) on his accession was one requiring that all beneficed persons 'shall provide within three months next after this visitation, one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English; and within one twelve months next after the said visitation, the Paraphrasis of Erasmus also in English upon the Gospels, and the same set up in some convenient place within the...Church..., whereas their parishioners may most commodiously resort unto the same and read the same.' And again, 'that they shall discourage no man (authorized and licensed thereto) from the reading of any part of the Bible, either in Latin or in English, but shall rather conform and exhort every person to read the same, as the very lively word of God, and the special food of man's soul that all Christian persons are bound to embrace, believe and follow, if they look to be saved[1].' In the next year Cranmer instituted inquiries into the fulfilment of these injunctions in his articles for the visitation of the diocese of Canterbury[2], further asking 'whether...priests being under the degree of bachelor of divinity have of their own the New

[1] Cardwell's *Doc. Ann.* I. 9. Compare p. 25.

[2] Cranmer's *Works*, II. p 155. Compare pp. 161; 81.

Chap. ii. External History.

'Testament both in Latin and English and the Para-
'phrase of Erasmus upon the same.'

But beyond this nothing of moment was actually achieved with regard to the English Version of the Scriptures. At this crisis the constitution of the English Church and the remoulding of the Service-books were of more urgent importance than the revision of the Bible, but Cranmer did not overlook this work. In 154[illegible] Fagius and Bucer were appointed by his influence to professorships at Cambridge, and during their stay with him at Lambeth, before they entered on their work there, 'the archbishop himself directed of what subject matter 'their lectures should be. As it had been a great while 'his pious and most earnest desire that the Holy Bible 'should come abroad in the greatest exactness and true 'agreement with the original text, so he laid this work 'upon these two learned men. First that they should 'give a clear plain and succinct interpretation of the Scrip-'ture according to the propriety of the language; and 'secondly illustrate difficult and obscure places and re-'concile those that seemed repugnant to one another. 'And it was his will and his advice that to this end and 'purpose their public readings should tend...Fagius, 'because his talent lay in the Hebrew learning, was to 'undertake the Old Testament; and Bucer the New... 'Fagius entered upon the Evangelical prophet Esaias 'and Bucer upon the gospel of the Evangelist John, and 'some chapters in each book were dispatched by them. 'But it was not long but both of them fell sick, which 'gave a very unhappy stop to their studies[1].' Nothing indeed is here said of an immediate revision of the authorised Bible, but the instructions point to the direction in which the great archbishop's thoughts were turned.

A revision of the English Bible probably contemplated.

[1] Strype's *Cranmer*, I. 281.

Sir J. Cheke's translation of St Matthew.

Meanwhile a fragment of a version of the New ıtament—the Gospel of St Matthew and the begin- g of St Mark—was completed by Sir John Cheke, ɔne time professor of Greek at Cambridge and tutor Edward VI. He seems to have aimed at giving a ıroughly English rendering of the text, and in this leavour he went to far greater lengths of quaintness .n Taverner. Thus he coins new words to represent : old 'ecclesiastical' terms for which More and Gardi- : contended most earnestly: *frosent* (apostle): *biword* ırable): *gainbirth* (regeneration): *uprising* or *gain- ing* (resurrection): *tablers* (money-changers): *tollers* ıblicans): *freshmen* (proselytes): and uses strange rticipial forms: *gospeld* (xi. 5): *devild* (viii. 28): *moond* . 24); and even *crossed* for crucified. The fragment mained in manuscript till quite lately[1], and it is not rtain that it was designed for publication. As it will ɔt be necessary to revert to it again, a specimen may : given to shew its general style:

'At that time Jesus answered and said: I must ıeeds, O Father, acknowledge thanks unto Thee, O ord of heaven and earth, which hast hidden these hings from wise and witty men, and hast disclosed the ame to babes; yea and that, Father, for such was thy ood pleasure herein. All things be delivered me of ny Father. And no man knoweth the Son but the Father, and he to whom the Son will disclose it (*sic*). ome to me all that labour and be burdened and I will ase you. Take my yoke on you and learn of me, for am mild and of a lowly heart. And ye shall find uietness for yourselves. For my yoke is profitable χρηστός) and my burden light.' (Matt. xi. 25—30.)

In the reign of Mary no English Bible was printed.

[1] Edited by Mr Goodwin, London, 1843.

The English Bible in Mary's reign.

Rogers and Cranmer were martyred: Coverdale with difficulty escaped to the Continent: the bones of Fagius and Bucer were burnt; but no special measures appear to have been taken for the destruction of the English Scriptures, or for the restriction of their private use. The public use of them in churches was necessarily forbidden. Proclamations against certain books and authors were issued, but no translations of the Old or New Testament were (as before) mentioned by name. Copies of the Bible which had been set up in churches were burnt; but they were not sought out or confiscated. Evidently a great change had come over the country since the time of Henry VIII. And in the mean time though the English press was inactive the exiles abroad were busy, and at the close of Mary's reign a New Testament was printed at Geneva, which was the first step towards a work destined to influence very powerfully our authorised Version. The origin of this must now be traced.

June 1557.

§ 7. The Genevan Bible.

The Genevan Testament of 1557.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the disastrous discussions at Frankfurt which divided the English exiles of Mary's reign. The task of continuing the revision of the Bible fell naturally to the non-conforming party who retired to Geneva, the active centre of the labours of Calvin and Beza. Among them was W. Whittingham, who married Calvin's sister; and it is to him in all probability that we owe the Genevan Testament, which appeared in 1557 with an Introductory Epistle by Calvin. The reviser's own address to the reader is anonymous, but it is definitely personal, and claims the work for a single man, and no one seems more likely than Whittingham to have undertaken it.

The reviser's account of his work

'As touching the perusing of the text,' he writes, 'it was diligently revised by the most approved Greek 'examples, and conference of translations in other 'tongues, as the learned may easily judge both by the 'faithful rendering of the sentence, and also by the pro-'priety of the words and perspicuity of the phrase. 'Furthermore that the reader might be by all means 'profited, I have divided the text into verses and sec-'tions[1] according to the best editions in other languages. '...And because the Hebrew and Greek phrases, which 'are strange to render in other tongues and also short, 'should not be too hard, I have sometime interpreted 'them, without any whit diminishing the grace of the 'sense, as our language doth use them, and sometime 'have put to [added] that word which lacking made the 'sentence obscure, but have set it in such letters as may 'easily be discerned from the common text.'

The attractiveness of the book was enhanced by a marginal commentary, in which the author boasts that 'to his knowledge he has omitted nothing unexpounded, 'whereby he that is anything exercised in the Scriptures 'of God might justly complain of hardness.' It was at least far more complete than any yet available for the English reader. So it was that the edition received a ready welcome and soon found its way to England. It was however only the beginning of a larger enterprise. Within a few months after it was finished, a thorough revision of the whole Bible was commenced, and was continued 'for the space of two years and more day and

The revision of the Bible undertaken.

[1] The division into verses was first given in Stephens' Gr.-Lat. Test. of 1551. See Tregelles, *An Account of the Printed Text*... p. 33. The use of italic supplemental words is found in Münster's O. T. 1534, but is said to have been borrowed by the reviser from Beza's Testament of 1556, which I have been unable to see. A different type was employed in the Great Bible to mark readings borrowed from the Vulgate, *e. g.* 1 John v. 7.

Chap. ii. External History.

'night.' The striking difference between the translation of the New Testament in this complete edition of the Bible (1560) and the separate New Testament (1557)[1], is a signal proof of the amount of independent labour bestowed upon the work. The names of those who were engaged upon it are not given, but they were several and perhaps not the same during the whole time. The *Nov.* 1558. accession of Elizabeth broke up the society in part, but 'Whittingham with one or two more did tarry at Geneva 'an year and a half after Q. Elizabeth came to the Crown, 'being resolved to go through with the work[2].' These were probably Gilby and Sampson[3]. Under their care *April* 1560. the Bible was finished in 1560, and dedicated to Q. Elizabeth in bold and simple language without flattery or reserve.

'The eyes of all that fear God in all places behold 'your countries,' thus they address the Queen, 'as an 'example to all that believe, and the prayers of all the 'godly at all times are directed to God for the preserva- 'tion of your majesty. For considering God's wonderful 'mercies toward you at all seasons, who hath pulled you 'out of the mouth of lions, and how that from your 'youth you have been brought up in the Holy Scrip- 'tures, the hope of all men is so increased, that they 'cannot but look that God should bring to pass some 'wonderful work by your grace to the universal comfort 'of his Church. Therefore even above strength you

[1] See Chap. III. § 6. The acknowledged importance of this work of revision is further shewn by the fact that the text of the edition of 1557 was never reprinted. It was at once superseded by the more complete work undertaken very shortly after its appearance. Compare Mr F. Fry, *Journal of Sacred Literature*, July 1864. The separate New Testament of 1560 gives, as Mr Fry has shewn, the text of the translation in the Bible and not that of the New Testament of 1557.

[2] Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* s. v. Whittingham.

[3] This is well established by Anderson, II. pp. 320 f.

iew yourself strong and bold in God's matters... ord of Lords and King of Kings who hath ever d his, strengthen, comfort and preserve your ', that you may be able to build up the ruins of ouse to His glory, the discharge of your con- and to the comfort of all them that love the of Christ Jesus our Lord[1].'

cost of the work was defrayed by members of gregation at Geneva, 'whose hearts God touched' irage the revisers 'not to spare any charge for herance of such a benefit and favour of God;' of those most actively engaged in this service in Bodley, the father of the founder of the 1 Library, who received afterwards from Eliza- atent for the exclusive right to print the revision and for seven years[2]. A folio edition was pub- y him in the next year[3], but this was printed at and he does not appear to have availed himself ds of the privilege, though the patent may have he sale of the work.

Bodley's share in it.

April 1561.

form in which the Bible was published marked lar destination. Its size—a moderate quarto— marked contrast to the ponderous folios of le, Matthew and the Great Bible. With the iew the text was printed for the first time in letter; and the division of the chapters into was introduced. A marginal commentary also

Convenience of the edition.

im of the book was indi- the original title of the o the reader, which was beloved in the Lord, the of England, Scotland, &c.' This superscription ed in 1578 to 'To the dili- Christian reader,' and after- 'To the Christian reader.'

(Comp. Anderson, II. 356-7.)

[2] Anderson, II. 324.

[3] The first title is dated 1562, but the title of the New Testament is dated 1561, and the Preface April 1561. No printer's name is attached to the book. One other edition was printed at Geneva in 1570, by J. Crispin.

Chap. ii. External History.

was added, pure and vigorous in style, and, if slightly tinged with Calvinistic doctrine, yet on the whole neither unjust nor illiberal.

The popular Bible.

It was not therefore surprising that from the time of its first appearance the Genevan Bible became the household Bible of the English-speaking nations; and it continued to be so for about three quarters of a century. It was never sanctioned for public use in Churches; but the convenience of its form and the simple clearness of its notes gained it a wide popularity with the mass of the people.

And the intrinsic merits of the book justified its popularity; for it was not without cause that the revisers say when reviewing their work: 'we may with good 'conscience protest that we have in every point and 'word, according to the measure of that knowledge 'which it pleased Almighty God to give us faithfully 'rendered the text, and in all hard places most sincerely 'expounded the same. For God is our witness that we 'have by all means endeavoured to set forth the purity 'of the word and right sense of the Holy Ghost for the 'edifying of the brethren in faith and charity.'

Thus it came to pass that the revision found a ready welcome even from those who were not predisposed in its favour. Some time after the 'Bishops' Bible' was undertaken, Bodley applied to Cecil for an extension of his patent. The secretary consulted Parker before replying to the request. Parker's answer is conceived in a generous spirit. 'He and the bishop of London '[Grindal] thought so well of the first impression of the 'Bible and the review of those who had since travailed 'therein, that they wished it would please him [Cecil] 'to be a means that twelve years' longer term might be 'by special privilege granted to Bodley, in consideration

Archbp. Parker's judgment.

'of the charges sustained by him and his associates in 'the first impression, and the review since: that though 'another special Bible for the Churches were meant by 'them to be set forth, as convenient time and leisure 'hereafter should permit, yet should it nothing hinder 'but rather do much good to have diversity of trans-'lations and readings.....'[1].

§ 8. The Bishops' Bible.

The Genevan revision was, as has been seen, the work of exiles whose action was unfettered by considerations of national policy. A work was comparatively easy for them which was not possible in the English Church. The commencement of Queen Elizabeth's reign was beset by many of the same difficulties which had occupied the great reformers on the accession of Edward VI. In the face of these it was not likely that measures would be taken for the revision of the English Bible. It was enough at first to restore what had been already once established. The injunctions which were issued by the Queen (1559) were closely moulded on those which had been put forth by Edward VI., and contained the same charge for the provision of a copy 'of the whole Bible of the largest volume' to be set up in some convenient place in each Church. No limita-

Q. Elizabeth's Injunctions.

[1] Strype's *Parker*, I. 412. One other revision of the New Testament must be classed with the Genevan versions, that by Lawrence Tomson, which was professedly based on Beza, and contained a new Commentary, translated in the main from his. This was published in 1576, and dedicated to F. Walsingham and F. Hastings; and became so popular that it was frequently substituted for the Genevan revision in the editions of the Genevan Bible. Tomson repeats the promise of the Genevan editor with regard to the Commentary with even greater emphasis: 'I dare avouch it, and 'whoso readeth it shall so find it, 'that there is not one hard sentence 'nor dark speech nor doubtful word, 'but is so opened and hath such 'light given it, that children may 'go through with it, and the simplest that are may walk without 'any guide, without wandering and 'going astray.'

Chap. ii. External History.

tion however was now added to the general encouragement to read the Scriptures; but it was said significantly that all should 'read the same *with great humility and* '*reverence*, as the very lively word of God[1].'

Popular feeling at her accession.

The concessions thus made fell in with the general desire of the people. This was shewn in a characteristic manner during the progress of the Queen from the Tower to Westminster on her accession to the throne. Various symbolic greetings were devised to welcome her on the way; and one above all seems to have attracted popular interest. At the 'Little 'Conduit in Cheape' a pageant was prepared 'and it was 'told her Grace that there was placed Time. "Time?" 'quoth she, "and Time hath brought me hither." And 'with Time also was 'Truth the daughter of Time,' 'who held a book in her hand upon the which was 'written 'Verbum veritatis, the word of Truth'—the Bible in English—'which she delivered to the Queen. 'But she, as soon as she had received the book kissed 'it, and with both her hands held up the same and so 'laid it upon her breast with great thanks to the city 'therefor'—'to the great comfort,' it is added afterwards, 'of the lookers-on[2].'

It is likely indeed that in this respect the zeal of the Queen was suspected to be cooler than that of many about her. 'On the morrow of her coronation,' so Bacon writes, 'it being the custom to release prisoners 'at the inauguration of a prince...one of her courtiers... 'besought her with a loud voice, That now this good

[1] Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* I. 214. In the Injunctions of 1547 it is said, 'They [the parsons, vicars, &c.] 'shall discourage no man, *authorized* '*and licensed thereto*, from the read-'*ing of any* part of the Bible either '*in Latin* or in English...' In the Injunctions of 1559 the words in italics are omitted. Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* I. pp. 9, 214. On the other hand, the words in italics in the text are not contained in the Injunctions of 1547.

[2] Nichols' *Progresses*, I. pp. 13 ff.

time there might be four or five principal prisoners more released; these were the four Evangelists and the apostle St Paul, who had been long shut up in an 'unknown tongue, as it were in prison, so as they 'could not converse with the common people. The 'Queen answered very gravely, That it was best first 'to inquire of them whether they would be released 'or no[1].'

Thus at first the Great Bible was allowed to retain its place as the authorised Bible for ecclesiastical use, but the wide circulation of the Genevan edition made its defects generally known, and Parker, who was naturally inclined to biblical studies, as soon as an opportunity offered, took measures for the review of the old translation. This was about 1563-4. The method which he followed has been described by Strype. 'The Arch- 'bishop,' he writes, 'took upon him the labour to con- 'trive and set the whole work a going in a proper 'method, by sorting out the whole Bible into parcels..., 'and distributing those parcels to able bishops and 'other learned men, to peruse and collate each the 'book or books allotted them: sending withal his in- 'structions for the method they should observe; and 'they to add some short marginal notes for the illus- 'tration or correction of the text. And all those portions 'of the Bible being finished and sent back to the arch- 'bishop, he was to add the last hand to them and so to 'take care for printing and publishing the whole[2].'

Archbp. Parker undertakes a revision of the Bible.

His plan.

Among those whose help he sought was Sandys, bishop of Worcester. Sandys strongly urged the necessity of the work. 'Your Grace,' he says, 'should much benefit the Church in hastening forward the

The opinion of Bp. Sandys.

[1] Bacon, *Collection of Apophthegms*, I.

[2] Strype's *Parker*, I. 414.

Chap. ii. External History.

'Bible which you have in hand: those that we have be 'not only false printed but also give great offence to 'many by reason of the depravity in reading.' In another letter which accompanied his revision of the portion of Scripture assigned to him, he explains more at length the ground of his opinion. 'According to 'your Grace's letter of instruction I have perused the 'book you sent me and with good diligence; having 'also in conference with some other considered of the 'same in such sort, I trust, as your Grace will not 'mislike of..... In mine opinion your Grace shall do 'well to make the whole Bible to be diligently surveyed 'by some well learned before it be put to print..... 'which thing will require a time. *Sed sat cito si sat bene.* 'The setters forth of this our common translation fol- 'lowed Munster too much, who doubtless was a very 'negligent man in his doings and often swerved very 'much from the Hebrew.....[1].'

Bp. Guest. Other fragments of correspondence shew some of the difficulties with which Parker had to contend. Guest, bishop of Rochester, in returning the book of Psalms which had been sent to him for correction, gives a singular view of the duties of a translator. 'I have 'not,' he says, 'altered the translation but where it gave 'occasion of an error. As at the first Psalm at the 'beginning I turn the præterperfect tense into the 'present tense, because the sense is too harsh in the 'præterperfect tense. Where in the New Testament 'one piece of a Psalm is reported I translate it in the 'Psalms according to the translation thereof in the 'New Testament, for the avoiding of the offence that 'may rise to the people upon divers translations.....[2].'

Cox. Again, Cox, bishop of Ely, writing in May, 1566,

[1] Strype's *Parker*, I. 415, 6. [2] *Id.* I. 416.

says, 'I trust your Grace is well forward with the Bible 'by this time. I perceive the greatest burden will lie 'upon your neck, touching care and travail. I would 'wish that such usual words as we English people be 'acquainted with might still remain in their form and 'sound, so far forth as the Hebrew will well bear; 'ink-horn terms to be avoided. The translation of the 'verbs in the Psalms to be used uniformly in one 'tense.....[1]'

The work finished in 1568.

However, in spite of all difficulties, the work went forward, and the Bishops' Bible, as it was called, appeared in 1568 in a magnificent volume, printed by R. Jugge 'cum privilegio regiæ majestatis.' No word of flattery disfigures the book. It is even without a dedication. But a portrait of the Queen occupies the centre of the engraved title-page, and others of Leicester and Burleigh occur before the book of Joshua and the Psalms. At the end is an elegant couplet on the device of the pelican feeding her young:

Matris ut hæc proprio stirps est satiata cruore,
Pascis item proprio, Christe, cruore tuos.

The spirit of the work.

It was not by these signs only that Parker shewed his true sense of the character of the task which he had undertaken. The revisers, speaking through him in the Preface, express a noble consciousness of the immensity of their labour. 'There be yet,' they say, quoting the words of John [Fisher], once bishop of Rochester, 'in the Gospels very many dark places which 'without all doubt to posterity shall be made much 'more open. For why should we despair herein, seeing 'the Gospel was delivered to this intent that it might 'be utterly understanded of us, yea to the very inch.

[1] Strype's *Parker*, I. 417. Comp. II. 212 ff.

Chap. ii. External History.

'Wherefore forasmuch as Christ sheweth no less love 'to his Church now than hitherto he hath done, the 'authority whereof is as yet no whit diminished, and 'forasmuch as that Holy Spirit [is] the perpetual 'Keeper and Guardian of the same Church, whose 'gifts and graces do flow as continually and abundantly 'as from the beginning: who can doubt but that such 'things as remain yet unknown in the Gospel shall be 'hereafter made open to the later wits of our posterity, 'to their clear understanding?' They felt then that their labour was provisional, and that the Spirit had yet further lessons in His Word to teach to later ages.

The revisers not certainly known.

It is not certainly known by whom the whole revision was actually made. Initials are placed at the end of some of the books, and this, Parker says, was done by his own wish that the several scholars might be 'more diligent, as answerable for their doings.' But it seems evident from the manner in which the initials are distributed that they do not indicate all the contributors[1]. They do not stand at the end of groups of books which might naturally be supposed to have been given to one reviser. Once the same initials are repeated in consecutive books. Some names too are certainly passed over. Lawrence, for example[2], had a considerable part in the revision of the New Testament, and his initials nowhere occur. Of the revisers who can be probably identified eight were bishops, and from them the revision derived its popular title[3].

[1] This is indeed implied in Parker's own language; see p. 103 n. 1.

[2] See ch. III. § 7.

[3] The initials given are the following (for the identifications I am indebted mainly to the *Historical Account*). At the end of the Pentateuch *W. E.* [W. Exoniensis, William Alley, bp. of Exeter]:
of 2 Samuel R. M. [R. Menevensis, Richard Davies, bp. of St David's]:
of 2 Chronicles E. W. [E. Wigornensis, Edwyn Sandys, bp. of Worcester]:
of Job A. P. *C.* [Andrew Pearson, canon of Canterbury]:

Chap. ii. External History.

The Bishops' Bible sanctioned by Convocation for public use.

When the edition was ready for publication Parker endeavoured to obtain through Cecil a recognition of it by the Queen. The revision did not, he pleaded, 'vary much from that translation which was commonly 'used by public order, except when the verity of the 'Hebrew and Greek moved alteration, or when the text 'was by some negligence mutilated from the original.' His design was to secure a uniform text for public use, and in some places the Genevan revision was now publicly read, which seemed to be an infringement of ecclesiastical discipline, and yet the Great Bible could not be honestly maintained[1]. There is no evidence to shew whether the Queen returned any answer

of the Psalms T. B. [? Thomas Becon]:
of the Song of Solomon A. P. *E.* [Andrew Perne, canon of Ely]:
of Lamentations R. W. [R. Wintonensis, Robert Horne, bp. of Winchester]:
of Daniel T. C. L. [T. Cov. & Lichf., Thomas Bentham, bp. of Lichfield and Coventry?]:
of Malachi E. L. [E. Londinensis, Edmund Grindal, bp. of London]:
of Wisdom W. C. [afterwards omitted]:
of 2 Maccabees *J. N.* [J. Norvicensis, John Parkhurst, bp. of Norwich]:
of the Acts R. E. [R. Eliensis, Richard Cox, bp. of Ely]
of Romans R. E. [as before]:
of 1 Corinthians G. G. [Gabriel Goodman, dean of Westminster].

In the copy of the edition of 1568 which I have used the letters A. P. *C.* do not occur after Proverbs. [Mr F. Fry tells me that he has 'both 'leaves of this edition one with A. 'P. *C.*, and one without.']

To the other books no initials are appended.

[1] Parker's words are important as describing the care which was spent upon the edition, and the objects for which it was designed: 'Because I 'would you knew all,' he writes to Cecil, 'I send you a note to signify 'who first travailed in the divers 'Books; though after them some 'other perusing was had; the letters 'of their names be partly affixed in 'the end of their Books; which I 'thought a policy to shew them, to 'make them more diligent, as an-'swerable for their doings.... The 'Printer hath honestly done his dili-'gence; if your honour would obtain 'of the Queen's highness that this 'edition might be licensed, and only 'commended in public reading in 'Churches, to draw to one uniform-'ity, it were no great cost to the most 'parishes, and a relief to him for his 'great charges sustained.' (*Biblioth. Sussex.* I. pp. 311 f.). He presses for the grant of the Queen's licence 'as well for that in many churches 'they want their Books, and have 'long time looked for this; as for 'that in certain places, be publicly 'used some translations which have 'not been laboured in your realm, 'having inspersed divers prejudicial 'notes which might have been also 'well spared.' (*Id.* I. p. 313.)

Chap. ii. External History.

to his petition. The action of Convocation however was decided, and cannot have been in opposition to the royal will. It was ordered in the 'Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical' of 1571 that 'every archbishop and bishop should have at his house a copy of 'the holy Bible of the largest volume as lately printed 'at London..... and that it should be placed in the 'hall or the large dining room, that it might be useful 'to their servants or to strangers[1].' It was also enjoined that each Cathedral should have a copy[2]; and the same provision was extended 'as far as it could be 'conveniently done' to all churches[3].

July 16th, 1587.

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sion formed part of the systematic plan for winning back England to the Papacy, which was shaped and guided by the energy and skill of [Cardinal] Allen. The centre of Allen's labours was the seminary which he first established at Douai (1568), and afterwards transferred temporarily to Rheims (1578). And it was in this seminary that the Rhemish Version, as it is commonly called, was made.

The English Version.

The history of the Rhemish Version has not yet been traced in contemporary records[1]; but the prefaces to the Old and New Testaments explain with perfect clearness the objects and method of the translators. They professed to find the cause of the troubles of England in the free handling of the deep mysteries of Scripture which led men to 'contemn or easily pass over the 'moral parts.' 'If our new ministers had had [that sense 'of the depth and profundity of wisdom...], that all 'other wise men have and ever had, our country had 'never fallen to this miserable state in religion and that 'under pretence, colour, and countenance of God's word; 'neither should virtue and good life have been so pitifully 'corrupted in time of such reading, toiling, tumbling, 'and translating the book of our salvation...'[2]. The text of these new translations, they plead, was full of alterations, transpositions, new pointings; the authorship and authority of whole books were questioned; old terms and forms were abandoned; the language was dealt with as freely as if it were the language 'of Livy, 'Virgil, or Terence.' 'We therefore,' they continue, 'having compassion to see our beloved countrymen, 'with extreme danger of their souls, to use only such

The object of the translators.

[1] Collections for the bibliographical history of the version have been made by Dr Cotton in his *Rhemes & Doway*...Oxford, 1855.

[2] *Preface to the Rhemish New Testament.*

profane translations and erroneous men's mere phantasies, for the pure and blessed word of truth, much also moved thereunto by the desires of many devout persons, have set forth for you (benign readers) the New Testament to begin withal, trusting that it may give occasion to you, after diligent perusing thereof, to lay away at least such their impure versions as hitherto you have been forced to occupy[1].'

The New Testament.

A controversial commentary formed a necessary part of the undertaking. It was pleaded that 'though the text, truly interpreted, might sufficiently, in the sight of the learned and all indifferent men...control the adversaries' corruptions...yet...somewhat to help the faithful reader in the difficulties of divers places, we [the editors] have also set forth reasonable large annotations, thereby to shew...both the heretical corruptions and false deductions, and also the apostolic tradition, the expositions of the holy fathers, the decrees of the Catholic Church and most ancient Councils; which means whosoever trusteth not for the sense of holy Scriptures but had rather follow his private judgment or the arrogant spirit of these sectaries he shall worthily through his own wilfulness be deceived...[2].'

The Annotations.

The names of those who performed the work are nowhere given in connexion with it, but internal evidence leaves no doubt that the chief share in the translation was undertaken by Gregory Martin, sometime fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, a scholar of distinguished attainments both in Hebrew and Greek. Upon renouncing Protestantism Martin had studied for some years at Douai and then after an interval of travel settled at Rheims as one of the readers of divinity in the English College there. Other scholars were probably

The translators and annotators.

[1] *Id.* [2] *Id.*

Chap. ii. External History.

associated with Martin in the task of translation or in the composition of the notes. It is said that Dr. Allen himself, Dr. R. Bristow, formerly a fellow of Exeter College, and Dr. J. Reynolds, formerly a fellow of New College, among others, assisted Martin in revising his translation. More particularly also the notes on the New Testament have been attributed to Dr. Bristow, and those on the Old Testament to Dr. Worthington. However this may be, Martin clearly identified himself with the work in a treatise which he published on the '*Manifold corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the heretics*' (Rhemes, 1582), very shortly after the appearance of the first instalment of the new version[1]. Yet it may be concluded from a comparison of the annotations with this treatise that Martin's work lay in the version and not in the commentary. His labours, as it seems, proved fatal to him. He died in the same year in which the books appeared to which he had devoted his life.

When the New Testament was published the whole version had been 'long since' finished though the publication was delayed 'for lack of good means[2].' This 'one general cause,' 'the poor estate [of the favourers of the version] in their banishment,[3]' delayed the appearance of the Old Testament till 1609—10 (Douai). The complete work cannot have had an extensive circulation. It was reprinted in 1635 (Rouen) and then not again for one hundred and fifteen years when it was revised by Dr. R. Challoner (1749—50); and this revision has formed the basis of the later editions.[4]

The Old Testament.

[1] The priority of the publication of the New Testament is shewn by a reference to it in the Preface to the *Discovery of the manifold corruptions* ...(*p. 63* Parker Soc. reprint). On the other hand the *Discovery* was already composed when the Preface to the New Testament was written: *Margin* to § 21.

[2] *Preface to the New Testament.*

[3] *Preface to the Old Testament.*

[4] Cotton, *l.c.* pp. 47 ff. The stand-

The New Testament, as might have been expected, attracted more attention. It was reprinted at Antwerp in 1600 and 1621, and again (at Rouen?) in 1633, though not afterwards for more than a hundred years[1]. But it obtained a still larger circulation by the help of its opponents. The annotations called for an answer. A powerful party in England urged Cartwright to prepare one[2]. Difficulties however were interposed in his way and his reply was not published in a complete form till 1618, fifteen years after his death. In the meantime Fulke, who answered Martin's book on the 'Corruptions of Holy Scripture,' answered his edition of the New Testament also (1589)[3]. He printed the Rhemish and Bishops' (revised 1572) version in parallel columns, and added to the Rhemish notes, which he gave at length, the refutation or qualifications which they seemed to require. This book became very popular, and the Rhemish Testament gained in this way a wide currency which it would not otherwise have enjoyed. But questions of scholarship or textual criticism are wholly subordinated in this examination to larger topics of controversy. At the same time the scriptural vocabulary was, as we shall see afterwards, insensibly increased, and even Bacon goes aside to praise 'the discretion and tenderness of the Rhemish translation' which ever distinguished the Christian grace 'charity' (ἀγάπη) from 'love' (ἔρως)[4].

Fulke's answer to the Rhemish New Testament.

ard edition is said to be that 'revised and corrected' under the sanction of Dr Troy, 1791.

[1] In the mean time two other Roman Catholic translations of the New Testament from the Vulgate were made, one by Dr Nary (1718, see Dr Cotton, *l.c.* pp. 37 ff.); and the other by Dr Witham (1730, see Dr Cotton, *l.c.* pp. 41 ff.).

[2] Strype, *Whitgift*, i. 482. *Annals* III. i. 287 ff.

[3] Other editions of this book were published in 1601, 1617, 1633. In the account of Fulke prefixed to the Parker reprint of his answer to Martin an edition is assigned also to the year 1580 by a surprising mistake.

[4] In his tract *Concerning the Liturgy*. This reference I owe to Mr Plumptre.

§ 10. THE AUTHORISED VERSION.

Two Bibles in use at the accession of James I.

There were, as we have seen, during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign two rival English Bibles[1], the Bishops', which was sanctioned by ecclesiastical authority for public use[2], and the Genevan, which was the common Bible of the people and even of scholars. If we may judge from the editions published, the circulation of the latter was more than quadruple that of the former, and the convenient forms in which it appeared marked its popular destination. There are only six editions of the Bishops' Bible in quarto and one in octavo; all the others (thirteen) are in folio; and no small edition was printed after that prepared by authority in 1584. Of the Genevan Bible, on the other hand, there are between 1568 and 1611 sixteen editions in octavo, fifty-two in quarto, and eighteen in folio[3].

Proposals for a revision of the Bible.

This rivalry was in every way undesirable; and in the conference on ecclesiastical matters which was held at Hampton Court shortly after the accession of James I., the authorised version of the Bible was brought forward as one of the things 'amiss in the Church.' The conference had no official or constitutional character, and was summoned by the king's proclamation, who had not yet himself been recognized as king by Parliament. But though it proved ineffectual in all other points, we owe to it our present Bible. The question was brought for-

Jan. 16, 1604.

[1] It would be interesting to determine the texts followed by the Elizabethan divines. On this the editions of the Parker Society, as far as I have examined them, give no help. Mr Anderson gives a few examples, II. 338.

[2] Fulke describes it on the title-page of his Confutation (1598) as 'the Translation...commonly used in the Church of England' and at the beginning of the text 'the translation of the Church of England.'

[3] This calculation is only approximately true. Mr F. Fry informs me that he has altogether sixty-six editions in quarto, including those of later date, and that the whole number must be at least seventy.

ward by Dr. Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who quoted several mistranslations from the authorised Bibles[1]. 'My Lord of London (Bancroft) well added: That if every man's humour should be followed there would be no end of translating. Whereupon his Highness wished some special pains should be taken in that behalf for one uniform translation—professing that he could never yet see a Bible well translated in English; but the worst of all his Majesty thought the Geneva to be—and this to be done by the best learned in both the Universities; after them to be reviewed by the bishops and the chief learned of the Church; from them to be presented to the Privy Council; and lastly to be ratified by his royal authority; and so this whole Church to be bound unto it and none other. Marry withal he gave this caveat, upon a word cast out by my lord of London, that no marginal notes should be added, having found in them which are annexed to the Geneva translation, which he saw in a Bible given him by an English lady, some notes very partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of dangerous and traitorous conceits (e.g. those on Ex. i. 19: 2 Chron. xv. 16)[2].'

[1] Gal. iv. 25; Pss. cv. 28, cvi. 30. The account given in the Preface to the Authorised Version is somewhat different from, though reconcileable with, Barlow's. 'The very historical truth is that upon the importunate petitions of the Puritans, at his Majesty's coming to this crown, the conference at Hampton Court having been appointed for hearing their complaints: when by force of reason they were put from all other grounds, they had recourse at the last to this shift, that they could not with good conscience subscribe to the Communion-book, since it 'maintained the Bible as it was there 'translated, which was, as they said, 'a most corrupted translation. And 'although this was judged to be but 'a very poor and empty shift, yet 'even hereupon did his Majesty be'gin to bethink himself of the good 'that might ensue by a new transla'tion, and presently after gave order 'for this translation which is now 'presented unto thee.'

[2] Barlow's *Sum and Substance of the Conference*...(printed in Cardwell's *Hist. of Conferences*), pp. 187-8.

Mr Anderson claims for Dr Reynolds the honour of having proposed

Chap. ii. External History.

Nothing further was done at the Conference, and the Ecclesiastical authorities do not appear to have been anxious or even ready to engage in the proposed revision[1]. Bancroft had expressed what was probably a very general feeling; and in the Convocation which followed shortly afterwards (March—July 1604) it was enjoined that every parish as 'yet unfurnished of the Bible of the largest volume[2]' should provide one within a convenient time, so that it seems unlikely that they even expected that it would be speedily carried out. But about the same time the King had matured his scheme. It is not known in what manner the scholars to be entrusted with the revision were selected. It appears however that some were submitted to the king who approved of the choice, and the list was complete

The king presses forward the scheme.

originally that the translation should be 'without any marginal notes' (II. 371). But the passage of Galloway which he quotes, so far from professing to give Reynolds' own scheme, gives 'the heads which his Majesty 'would have reformed at this time.' 'Sundry,' he continues, 'as they fa- 'voured gave out copies of things 'here concluded; whereupon myself 'took occasion, as I was an ear and 'eye witness, to set them down, and 'presented them to his Majesty, who 'with his own hand mended some 'things, and eked other things which 'I had omitted: which corrected copy 'with his own hand I have, and of 'it have sent you herein the just 'transumpt word by word...' The conclusion in question is: 'That a 'translation be made of the whole 'Bible, as consonant as can be to the 'original Hebrew and Greek; and 'this to be set out and printed with- 'out any marginal notes, and only to 'be used in all Churches of England 'in time of Divine Service' (Cardwell, *Hist. of Conferences*, pp. 213, 214). If Mr Anderson had taken the trouble to read Dr Cardwell, he would have been saved from committing a very serious error, and indulging in a very unworthy comment.

[1] Still in the note which was made apparently by Bancroft himself of 'things as shall be reformed,' occurs 'One uniform translation of the Bible to be made, and only to be used 'in all the churches of England' (Cardwell, *Hist. of Conference*, p. 142).

[2] Canon 80. From a comparison with Whitgift's injunctions (p. 19) the reference is probably to the Bishops' Bible. But Dr Reynolds' quotations from the Great Bibles 'allowed in the reign of Henry VIII. and 'Edward VI,' as still publicly used, shew that these had not been done away with or forbidden.

It is worthy of notice that in Archbp. Bancroft's visitation Articles of 1605 the 'Bible of the greatest volume' is not mentioned as in the corresponding articles of Cranmer and Whitgift (§ 48. Cardwell's *Doc. Ann.* II. 110).

y June 30th. The undertaking was no doubt really congenial to James' character, and Bancroft writing to Cambridge on that day to hasten on its execution adds, I am persuaded his royal mind rejoiceth more in the good hope which he hath for the happy success of that work, than of his peace concluded with Spain.' Three weeks afterwards (July 22nd) the king wrote to Bancroft, who was acting as representative of the vacant see of Canterbury, announcing that he had 'appointed certain learned men, to the number of four and fifty, for the translating of the Bible,' and requiring him to take measures whereby he might be able to recompense the translators by church preferment. 'Furthermore,' he adds, 'we require you to move all our bishops to inform themselves of all such learned men within their several dioceses, as, having especial skill in the Hebrew and Greek tongues, have taken pains in their private studies of the Scriptures for the clearing of any obscurities either in the Hebrew or in the Greek, or touching any difficulties or mistakings in the former English translation, which we have now commanded to be thoroughly viewed and amended, and thereupon to write unto them, earnestly charging them and signifying our pleasure therein that they send such their observations either to Mr Lively, our Hebrew reader in Cambridge, or to Dr Harding, our Hebrew reader in Oxford, or to Dr Andrews, dean of Westminster, to be imparted to the rest of their several companies; that so our said intended translation may have the help and furtherance of all our principal learned men within this our kingdom.'[1]

An immediate provision for the revisers proposed.

Having provided in this manner for the future remuneration of the scholars whose services he had engaged,

[1] Cardwell, *Doc. Annals*, II. 84.

Chap. ii. External History.

the king was equally prudent in endeavouring to obtain the means of defraying their immediate expenses. These 'his majesty,' it is said, 'was very ready of his most 'princely disposition to have borne, but some of my 'lords, as things now go, did hold it inconvenient;' so 'he requested the bishops and chapters to contribute 'toward this work,' with the additional stimulus that 'his majesty would be acquainted with every man's 'liberality.' Bancroft, in communicating this notice to the different dignitaries to whom it applied, adds, 'I do 'not think a thousand marks will finish the work,' so that the amount of the tax might not be left altogether in uncertainty[1]. But in spite of the royal request nothing seems to have been subscribed, and from the life of one of the translators it appears that they received nothing but free entertainment in the colleges till some of them met in London for the final revision of the work[2].

he revisers osen.

It does not appear in what way the actual selection of the revisers was made, but it is most likely that names were suggested by the universities and approved by the king. There is also some discrepancy as to the number engaged upon the work. The king speaks of fifty-four, and only forty-seven names appear upon the list. It is possible that some were originally appointed who did not in the end take any part in the revision, or that a committee of bishops was chosen as an independent group of revisers; but no satisfactory solution of the difficulty has yet been proposed[3]. The delay,

[1] Cardwell, *l.c.* 87 ff.

[2] Walker's *Life of Boys*, quoted by Anderson, II. 381.

[3] Of the bishops, Bancroft, though not among the translators, is said to have 'altered the translation in four-'teen places' to make it 'speak pre-'latical language,' and to have been 'so potent' in pressing his corrections 'that there was no contradicting him' (Dr Hill quoted by Mr Anderson, II. 378).

owever, which took place in the commencement of the evision is sufficient to account for its existence; for hough the preliminaries were settled before the end of 604, the revision does not appear to have been seriously ndertaken till 1607[1]. The death of Mr Lively in 1605 as no doubt a grave check to the progress of the cheme, and it is not hard to imagine other obstacles hich may have hindered it.

The revisers divided into six groups.

When at length the whole plan was ready for execution, the translators were divided into six companies, of which two met respectively at Westminster, Cambridge, nd Oxford, and the whole work was thus divided mong them[2].

Westminster.	Dr L. Andrews, Dean of Westminster. Dr J. Overall, Dean of St Paul's. Dr A. de Saravia, Canon of Canterbury. Dr R. Clark, Fellow of Christ's Coll., Camb. Dr J. Layfield, Fellow of Trin. Coll., Camb. Dr R. Teigh. Mr F. Burleigh. Mr G. King, Fellow of King's Coll., Camb. Mr Thompson, Clare Hall, Camb[3]. Mr Bedwell.	Genesis to 2 Kings inclusive.

[1] Some of the revisers may indeed have begun their work at once. Thus Boys is said to have worked for four years before the final revision, which took nine months (*Life*, quoted by Anderson, II. 381). But the translators fix about two years and three-quarters as the length of time spent on the revision. See p. 120.

[2] This list is taken chiefly from Dr Cardwell's reprint of Burnet's list (*Doc. Annals*, II. 140 ff.). It is only approximately correct, and does not suit exactly the date 1604, as Barlow was not then Dean of Chester, nor 1607, when Mr Lively was dead. Two other names, Dr J. Aglionby and Dr L. Hutton, are given elsewhere, in place of Dr Eedes and Dr Ravens. See Cardwell, *l. c.* p. 144 n. The spelling of the names, it scarcely need be added, varies considerably.

[3] On Rich. Thomson ('Dutch Thomson') see a collection of materials for a memoir by the Rev. J. E. B. Mayor in *N. and Q.* 2 S. ix. 155 ff.; 237 ff.

Chap. ii. External History.

Cambridge.	Mr Lively, Fellow of Trin. Coll. Mr Richardson, afterwards Master of Trin. Coll. Mr Chatterton, Master of Emm. Coll. Mr Dillingham, Fellow of Christ's Coll. Mr Harrison, Vice-Master of Trin. Coll. Mr Andrews, afterwards Master of Jesus Coll. Mr Spalding, Fellow of St John's. Mr Byng, Fellow of St Peter's Coll.	1 Chr to Eccl inclu
Oxford.	Dr Harding, Pres. of Magd. Coll. Dr Reynolds, Pres. of Corpus Christi Coll. Dr Holland, afterwards Rector of Ex. Coll. Dr Kilbye, Rector of Lincoln Coll. Dr Miles Smith, Brasenose Coll. Dr R. Brett, Fellow of Lincoln Coll. Mr Fairclough, Fellow of New Coll.	Isai to Mal
Cambridge.	Dr Duport, Master of Jesus Coll. Dr Branthwait, Master of Caius Coll. Dr Radcliffe, Fellow of Trin. Coll. Dr Ward, afterwards Master of Sid. Coll. Mr Downes, Fellow of St John's Coll.[1] Mr Boys, Fellow of St John's Coll.[2] Mr Ward, Fellow of King's Coll.	Th Apo ph
Oxford.	Dr T. Ravis, Dean of Ch. Ch. Dr G. Abbot, Dean of Winchester. [Dr R. Eedes, Dean of Worcester.] Dr G. Thompson, Dean of Windsor. Mr (Sir H.) Savile, Provost of Eton. Dr Perin, Fellow of St John's Coll. [Dr Ravens, Fellow of St John's Coll.] Dr Harmer, Fellow of New Coll.	The Gosp Ac Apo lyp

[1] On Mr. Andr. Downes see Mr Mayor's edition of Baker's *History of St John's College*, pp. 598 f.

[2] On Mr John Bois see Mr l *l.c.*

Westminster Company	Dr W. Barlow, Dean of Chester. Dr Hutchinson. ? Dr T. Spencer, Pres. of Corp. Chr. Coll., Ox. ? Mr Fenton. ? Mr Rabbett. ? Mr Sanderson. ? Mr Dakins, Fellow of Trin. Coll., Cambridge.	Romans to Jude inclusive.

Linguistic attainments of the revisers.

Of these scholars many (as Andrews, Overall, Savile, and Reynolds) have obtained an enduring reputation apart from this common work in which they were associated. Others, whose names are less familiar, were distinguished for special acquirements requisite for their task. Lively, Spalding, King, and Byng were successively professors of Hebrew at Cambridge, and Harding and Kilbye at Oxford. Harmer and Perin were professors of Greek at Oxford, and Downes at Cambridge; Bedwell was the most distinguished Arabic scholar of the time. Saravia was an accomplished modern linguist. Thompson (Camb.), Chatterton, Smith, and Boys were equally distinguished for their knowledge of ancient languages. It is one sign of the large choice of Hebraists which was offered at the time that Boys, who was especially famous for oriental learning, was originally employed upon the Apocrypha.

The instructions given for the revision.

No doubt can be entertained as to the ability and acquirements of the revisers. At the same time care was taken to check individual fancies. Their duty was accurately defined in a series of rules which were drawn up probably under the direction of Bancroft. These provide for an elaborate scheme of revision as well as furnish general directions for the execution of the work[1].

[1] The text of the rules varies in App. 10, who quotes '*ex MS. D.* different books. I have followed *Borlase.*'
Burnet, *Hist. of Reformation*, II. An account of the rules given by

hap. ii. xternal listory.

1. 'The ordinary Bible read in the Church, com- 'monly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed, and a 'little altered as the truth of the original will permit.

2. 'The names of the prophets and the holy writers, 'with the other names of the text to be retained as nigh 'as may be, accordingly as they were vulgarly used.

3. 'The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, viz. the 'word *Church* not to be translated *Congregation*, &c.

4. 'When a word hath divers significations, that to 'be kept which hath been most commonly used by the 'most of the ancient fathers, being agreeable to the 'propriety of the place and the analogy of the faith.

5, 'The division of the chapters to be altered either 'not at all or as little as may be, if necessity so require.

6. 'No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only 'for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words 'which cannot, without some circumlocution, so briefly 'and fitly be expressed in the text.

7. 'Such quotations of places to be marginally set 'down as shall serve for the fit reference of one Scripture 'to another.

8. 'Every particular man of each company to take 'the same chapter or chapters; and having translated 'or amended them severally by himself where he think- 'eth good, all to meet together, confer what they have 'done, and agree for their parts what shall stand.

9. 'As any one company hath dispatched any one 'book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest to 'be considered of seriously and judiciously, for his ma- 'jesty is very careful in this point.

10. 'If any company, upon the review of the book 'so sent, doubt or differ upon any place, to send them

the English Delegates to the Synod the rules to seven. Anderson, II. of Dort reduces the final number of 377.

'word thereof, note the place, and withal send the reasons; to which if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company at the end of the work.

11. 'When any place of special obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed by authority to send to any learned man in the land for his judgment of such a place.

12. 'Letters to be sent from every bishop to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this translation in hand, and to move and charge as many as being skilful in the tongues and having taken pains in that kind, to send his particular observations to the company either at Westminster, Cambridge, or Oxford.

13. 'The directors in each company to be the Deans of Westminster and Chester for that place and the king's professors in the Hebrew or Greek in either university.

14. 'These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible: Tindale's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's, Geneva.

15. 'Besides the said directors before mentioned, three or four of the most ancient and grave divines in either of the universities, not employed in translating, to be assigned by the Vice-Chancellor upon conference with the rest of the Heads to be overseers of the translations, as well Hebrew as Greek, for the better observation of the fourth rule above specified[1].'

The reviser account of their work.

It is impossible to tell how far all these provisions were adhered to. Almost all that is certainly known

[1] This last rule appears to have been added afterwards, when the practical difficulty of Rule 4 began to be felt. *Historical Account*, p. 153.

of the proceedings of the revisers is contained in the noble preface which the printers have removed from modern editions of the Bible. In this Dr Miles Smith, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, writing in the name of his fellow-labourers, gives some account of the time which was spent upon the revision, and of the manner and spirit in which it was executed. 'We did not,' he says, 'run over the work with that posting haste 'that the Septuagint did, if that be true which is re-'ported of them, that they finished it in seventy-two 'days..... The work hath not been huddled up in 'seventy-two days, but hath cost the workmen, as light as 'it seemeth, the pains of twice seven times seventy-two 'days and more' (about two years and nine months). 'We were so far off,' he writes again, 'from condemn-'ing any of their labours that travailed before in this 'kind, either in this land or beyond sea, either in K. 'Henry's time or K. Edward's (if there were any trans-'lation or correction of a translation in his time), or 'Q. Elizabeth's of ever-renowned memory, that we ac-'knowledge them to have been raised up of God, for 'the building and furnishing of his Church, and that 'they deserve to be had of us and of posterity in ever-'lasting remembrance'..... Still, 'let us bless God 'from the ground of our heart for working this religious 'care in [the King] to have the translations of the 'Bible maturely considered of and examined. For by 'this means it cometh to pass that whatsoever is sound 'already (and all is sound for substance in one or 'other of our editions, and the worst of ours far bet-'ter than their [the Romanists'] authentic Vulgate) the 'same will shine as gold, more brightly being rubbed 'and polished; also if any thing be halting or super-'fluous or not so agreeable to the original, the same

may be corrected and the truth set in place...' And thus, summing up all briefly, he says, 'Truly, good Christian reader, we never thought from the beginning that we should need to make a new translation nor yet to make of a bad one a good one..... but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones one principal good one, not justly to be excepted against: that hath been our endeavour, that our mark. 'To that purpose there were many chosen that were 'greater in other men's eyes than in their own, and 'that sought the truth rather than their own praise. '..... Neither did we think [it] much to consult the 'translators or commentators, Chaldee, Hebrew, Syrian, 'Greek or Latin, no nor the Spanish, French, Italian, 'or Dutch [German][1]; neither did we disdain to revise 'that which we had done, and to bring back to the anvil 'that which we had hammered; but having and using 'as great helps as were needful, and fearing no reproach 'for slowness nor coveting praise for expedition, we have 'at the length, through the good hand of the Lord upon 'us, brought the work to that pass that you see.'

The revision prepared for the press.

When the revision was completed at the different centres[2], 'two members were chosen from each 'company' to superintend the final preparation of the work

[1] Selden, in his *Table Talk*, has given a similar account of the proceeding of the translators, which he may have received from some one who was engaged in the work: 'The 'English Translation of the Bible is 'the best Translation in the World 'and renders the Sense of the Origi- 'nal best, taking in for the English 'Translation the Bishops' Bible as 'well as King James's. The Trans- 'lation in King James' time took an 'excellent way. That part of the 'Bible was given to him who was 'most excellent in such a tongue (as 'the Apocrypha to Andrew Downs) 'and then they met together, and 'one read the Translation, the rest 'holding in their hands some Bible, 'either of the learned Tongues, or 'French, Spanish, Italian, &c.: if 'they found any fault they spoke, 'if not he read on' (*Table Talk*, p. 20, ed. 1868).

[2] As the revisers were 'six in all,' it is evident that by 'company' we must understand 'centre': *i.e.* Oxford, Cambridge and Westminster.

Chap. ii. External History.

for the press in London; and 'Three copies of the 'whole Bible were sent there, one from Cambridge, a 'second from Oxford, and a third from Westminster[1].' It is not likely that this committee did more than arrange the materials which were already collected; but whatever their work was, it was completed in nine months, and the whole labour of the revision was thus brought to a successful end[2].

The Royal Bible published.

The revised version appeared at length from the press of R. Barker, in 1611. The book is said 'to be 'newly translated out of the original tongues; and with 'the former translations diligently compared and revised 'by his Majesty's special command.' A further notice adds that it is 'appointed to be read in churches.' From what has been said, it will appear with what

[1] Walker's *Life of Boys*, quoted by Anderson, II. 381.

[2] It is remarkable that none of the many copies of the Bishops' Bible used for the revision have yet been discovered. There is an interesting volume in the Bodleian Library (Bishops' Bible, Barker, 1602), which has been commonly but certainly wrongly supposed to be one of the copies prepared for the press. The text is corrected throughout some books to the Royal Version; and in some cases letters are attached (g, j, t) which appear to indicate the sources from which the corrections were derived. Mr J. Wordsworth, Fellow of Brasenose, has kindly given me the following summary of the extent of the corrections:

Gen. i.—xxv. with g, j, t, and perhaps another letter.
Gen. xxvi. to Joshua inclusive with g (j again from Deut. xxxii. to end).
Judges—Is. iv. corrected without added letters; and so also
Jer. i.—iv.
Ezech. i.—iv.
Dan. i.—iv.
The Minor Prophets.
St Matthew, St Mark, St Luke.
St John xvii. to end.
There are also two notes on Eph. iv. 8, 2 Thess. ii. 15.

From collations which I owe to the great kindness of the Rev. H. O. Coxe, the Bodleian Librarian, it is certain that 'g' marks corrections obtained from the Genevan Version. The materials which I have are not as yet sufficient to identify 't' and 'j.'

The history of the book is unknown; but the occurrence of the reference-letters is at least a certain proof that it was not designed for the press. In all probability it contains simply a scholar's collation of the Royal and Bishops' texts, with an attempt to trace the origin of the corrections.

The corrections throughout the O. T. are apparently in the same hand: those in the N.T. are in a different hand and 'considerably more modern.'

limitations the first statement must be interpreted. The second is more difficult of explanation; for no evidence has yet been produced to shew that the version was ever publicly sanctioned by Convocation or by Parliament, or by the Privy Council, or by the king. It gained its currency partly, it may have been by the weight of the king's name, partly by the personal authority of the prelates and scholars who had been engaged upon it, but still more by its own intrinsic superiority over its rivals. Copies of the 'whole 'Bible of the largest volume and latest edition' are required to be in churches by the Visitation Articles of Laud 1622 (St David's), 1628 (London). In the Scotch Canons of 1636 it is said still more distinctly that 'the Bible shall be of the translation of King James' (Cap. 16, § 1). Similar provisions are, I believe, contained in the Visitation Articles of London 1612, and Norwich 1619; but these I have been unable to see.

Slow progress of the Version towards universal acceptance.

The printing of the Bishops' Bible was at once stayed when the new version was definitely undertaken. No edition is given in the lists later than 1606, though the New Testament from it was reprinted as late as 1618 (or 1619). So far ecclesiastical influence naturally reached. But it was otherwise with the Genevan Version which was chiefly confined to private use. This competed with the King's Bible for many years, and it was not till about the middle of the century that it was finally displaced. And thus, at the very time when the monarchy and the Church were, as it seemed, finally overthrown, the English people by their silent and unanimous acceptance of the new Bible gave a spontaneous testimony to the principles of order and catholicity of which both were an embodiment.

A new revision proposed.

Some steps indeed were taken for a new version during the time of the Commonwealth. The Long Parliament shortly before it was dissolved made an order (April 1653) that 'a Bill should be brought in for a new 'translation of the Bible out of the original tongues,' but nothing more was done at that time[1]. Three years afterwards the scheme was revived, and Whitelocke has preserved an interesting account of the proceedings which followed.

Jan. 16, 1656 (i. e. 1657).

'At the grand committee [of the House] for Religion, 'ordered That it be referred to a sub-committee to 'send for and advise with Dr [Brian] Walton, Mr 'Hughes, Mr [Edmund] Castle, Mr [Samuel] Clark, 'Mr Poulk[2], Dr [Ralph] Cudworth, and such others as 'they shall think fit, and to consider of the Translations 'and impressions of the Bible, and to offer their opinions 'thereon to this Committee; and that it be especially 'commended to the Lord Commissioner Whitelocke to 'take care of this business.'

Feb. 6.

'This committee often met at my house,' writes Whitelocke, 'and had the most learned men in the 'Oriental tongues to consult with in this great business, 'and divers [made] excellent and learned observations 'of some mistakes in the Translations of the Bible in 'English; which yet was agreed to be the best of any 'Translation in the world. I took pains in it, but it 'became fruitless by the Parliament's Dissolution[3].'

The Royal Bible unanimously received from the

With this notice the external history of the English Version appropriately ends[4]. From the middle of the seventeenth century, the King's Bible has been the

[1] Lewis, *Hist. of Translations*, 354.

[2] Mr J. E. B. Mayor informs me that this can be nothing but an error for Mr [Matthew] Poole.

[3] Whitelocke, *Memoirs*, p. 654.

[4] Since the first edition of this book appeared the work of revision has been resumed. See App. ix.

acknowledged Bible of the English-speaking nations throughout the world simply because it is the best. A revision which embodied the ripe fruits of nearly a century of labour, and appealed to the religious instinct of a great Christian people, gained by its own internal character a vital authority which could never have been secured by any edict of sovereign rulers[1].

[1] The labours of Hugh Broughton on the English Bible ought not to be passed over without notice. This great Hebraist violently attacked the Bishops' Bible, and sketched a plan for a new version which his own arrogance was sufficient to make impracticable. He afterwards published translations of Daniel, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, and Job, and offered his help towards the execution of the royal version. His overbearing temper, as it appears, caused him to be excluded from the work; but his printed renderings were not without influence upon the revisers: e.g. Dan. iii. 5. Lewis, *Hist. of Translations*, 297 ff.

CHAPTER III.

HE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

Oh, if we draw a circle premature
Heedless of far gain,
Greedy for quick returns of profit, sure
Bad is our bargain!
Was it not great? did not he throw on God,
(He loves the burthen)—
God's task to make the heavenly period
Perfect the earthen.....
That low man seeks a little thing to do,
Sees it and does it:
This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
Dies ere he knows it.....
That has the world here—should he need the next,
Let the world mind him!
This throws himself on God, and unperplext
Seeking shall find Him.....
Lofty designs must close in like effects:
Loftily lying,
Leave him—still loftier than the world suspects,
Living and dying.

CHAPTER III.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

Revival of the study of Greek and Hebrew.

UCH in a general outline was the external history of ıe English Bible. We have still to inquire how it was ıade? with what helps? on what principles? by what ıws it was modified from time to time? and how ır our authorised version bears in itself the traces of :s gradual formation? To some of these questions ınly tentative or imperfect answers can be rendered at ıresent; yet it is something to clear the way to a fuller nvestigation; and when once the novelty and compli-:ation of the problems become evident, it cannot fail ıut that a combination of labour will achieve their com-ılete solution. Hitherto nothing has been done system-ıtically towards the work. A few vague surmises and ıasty generalizations have gained unchallenged currency ınd stopped thorough search; yet when viewed simply n its literary aspect, the history of the growth of the ıuthorised text involves a more comprehensive and ıubtle criticism, and is therefore filled with a deeper nterest, than any similar history. Each revision stands n a definite relation to a particular position of the English Church, and may be expected to reflect its mage in some degree. Moreover we possess the work ıt each stage of its structure and not only in its final

completeness. Each part can be examined as it was first planned and executed, and not only as it was finally incorporated into a more complex whole. We can even determine the materials out of which it was raised, and the various resources of which its authors could avail themselves at each point of their task. For us the result stands now amidst the accumulated treasures of later researches. But if we would appreciate it rightly in itself we must once again surround it by the conditions under which it was obtained.

Problems involved in the internal history of the English Bible.

The close of the 15th century sealed a revolution in Europe. The ecclesiastical language of the West had given place to or at least admitted into fellowship the sacred languages of the East. It was in vain that the more ignorant of the clergy denounced Greek and Hebrew as the fatal sources of heathenism and Judaism: it was vain that they could be popularly represented as emblems of apostate peoples of GOD while the Latin symbolized the faithful: the noblest and most far-seeing scholars, lay or cleric, recognized in the new learning a handmaid of religion, and took measures for its honourable admission into the circle of liberal education. In his University at Alcala the great Cardinal Ximenes made provision for the teaching of Hebrew and Greek with Latin, and consecrated the study in his noble Polyglott. At Louvain a foundation for the like purpose was added to the University about 1516 by Busleiden. Wolsey appears to have contemplated a similar course in his College at Oxford, where he founded in 1519 a chair of Greek[1]. When complaints were made, Henry, acting no doubt under his inspiration, enjoined that 'the study of the Scriptures in 'their original languages should not only be permitted

Alcala.

Louvain.

Oxford.

[1] Bp. Fox had founded one two years earlier, in 1517.

'for the future, but received as a branch of the aca-'demical institution[1].' The work of Wolsey was left unfinished, but it is not without interest to find among his canons two, John Fryth and Richard Taverner, who became afterwards distinguished for their labours in the translation of Scripture, and at least seven others who were sufferers by the first persecution which followed after the introduction of Tyndale's New Testament[2]. Thus everywhere men were being disciplined for the rendering the original text of the Bible into the living languages of Europe, and at the end of the first quarter of the 16th century sufficient materials were gathered for the accomplishment of their office.

Helps to the study of Greek.

The appliances for the independent study of the Greek of the New Testament and the Septuagint Version of the Old were fairly adequate. Grammars were in wide circulation, of which the earliest was that of Lascaris (Milan, 1476) and the most enduring that of Clenardus (Louvain, 1530). In the interval between the appearance of these, numerous others were published in Italy, France, and Germany[3]. The first lexicon of Craston (1480) was republished in a more convenient form by Aldus (1497) and supplemented by the important collections of Guarino (Phavorinus) in his *Etymologicum Magnum*. But these and all other earlier lexicons were eclipsed by the so-called *Commentaries* of Budæus (Paris 1529), a true *Thesaurus* of Greek, which still remains a vast monument and storehouse of learning. The very names of many of the great German scholars shew the passion with which the study was pursued. Melanchthon (*Schwarzerd*), Œcolampadius (*Hausschein*), Capnio (*Reuchlin*), Erasmus (*Gerhard*), Ceratinus (*Horn*),

[1] Anderson, I. 24.

[2] Compare the lists given by Anderson, I. pp. 86, 95.

[3] One at *Wittenberg* in 1561.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

are memorable instances to prove the power of Greek to furnish home names to the Teutonic nations. And though England can boast of no original Greek works till a later time, yet Croke, a scholar of Grocyn, first introduced a thorough knowledge of the language into northern Germany, where, it is said, he was received 'like a heavenly messenger[1].'

Helps to the study of Hebrew.

The pursuit of Hebrew was not less flourishing in the North. In Italy Greek had been welcomed at first as a new spring of culture. Beyond the Alps Greek and Hebrew were looked upon as the keys to Divine Truth. So it was that while Greek languished in Italy and Hebrew scarcely gained a firm footing among the mass of students; in Germany both were followed up with an ardent zeal which for good alike and for evil is yet fruitful in great issues. An Italian of the early part of the 16th century instinctively marked the spiritual difference of the North and South when he observed that in Germany Hebrew was prized in the same manner as Latin in Italy. Thus the early translators of the Old Testament found materials already fitted for their use. The first Hebrew Grammar was composed by Pellican (1503). This was followed by that of Reuchlin, with a dictionary, in 1506. Another by S. Münster appeared in 1525, who published also a Chaldee grammar in 1527. Pagninus, the translator of the Bible, added a new dictionary in 1529. The great Complutensian Polyglott (published 1520, finished 1517) contained a Latin translation of the Targum of Onkelos and a complete Lexicon to the Hebrew and Chaldee texts, with a Hebrew grammar.

Publications in Latin, Hebrew,

In the meantime, while all the chief classical authors had been published, the original texts and some of the

[1] Hallam, *Introd. to Literature*, I. 268 n.

and Greek texts of the Scriptures.

ancient versions of Holy Scripture had also become accessible. The Latin Vulgate is supposed to have been the first book printed (*c.* 1455), and this first edition was followed by a multitude of others, in some of which, and notably in the Latin text of the Complutensian Polyglott, old manuscripts were used.

The Hebrew of the Old Testament was first published completely at Soncino in 1488. Many other editions followed, which were crowned by the great Rabbinical Bibles of Bomberg in 1518 and 1525: these were furnished with the Targums and the commentaries of the greatest early Jewish scholars. Complete Latin translations from the Hebrew were made by Sanctes Pagninus (1527), and by Sebast. Münster (1534—5). Considerable portions were rendered afresh in Latin by Zwingli and Œcolampadius; and single books by many writers before 1535. The Septuagint was contained in the Complutensian Polyglott, and in a distinct text in the edition of Aldus 1518. The Greek Testament appeared for the first time many years after the Latin and Hebrew texts edited by Erasmus with a new Latin Translation in 1516[1]. A second edition followed in 1519: a third, which may be considered his standard edition, in 1522; and others in 1527, and 1535. An edition from the press of Aldus with some variations appeared together with the Septuagint in 1518. The Complutensian Polyglott printed in 1514, in which there is an independent text of the New Testament, was not published till 1520. Other editions followed soon after which have little or no independent value.

It remains only to characterize generally the critical value of these editions. The Hebrew text of the Old

[1] In the same year appeared his edition of St Jerome, the most important of the Fathers for a translator of the Bible.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

Testament edited by Ben Chayim (1525) is substantially good. Indeed as Hebrew Manuscripts all belong to a comparatively late recension the extent of real variation between them is limited. The Latin texts accessible in the first half of the 16th century were indifferent. The Greek texts of the New Testament, and this is most important, were without exception based on scanty and late manuscripts, without the help of the oriental versions and the precious relics of the Old Latin. As a necessary consequence they are far from correct, and if the variations are essentially unimportant as a whole, yet the errors in the text of our English Testament inherited from them are considerably more important than the existing errors of translation.

The first independent German Versions.

Such were the materials which the first great Reformers found to help them in their work of rendering the original Scriptures into their own languages. Before the English labourers entered the field it was already occupied. Numerous students in Germany had translated separate books when Luther commenced the work which he was enabled to carry to a successful end.

Luther.

Luther's New Testament appeared in 1522 as the fruit of his seclusion in the Wartburg, and, like Tyndale's, anonymously. The Pentateuch followed in 1523. The Historical books and the Hagiographa in 1524. The Prophets at various intervals (Jonah in 1526) afterwards; and the whole work in 1534. The second revised edition did not appear till 1541. But in the meanwhile

Zurich Bible.

a band of scholars at Zurich, including Zwingli, Pellican and Leo Juda, had taken Luther's work as the basis of a new translation up to the end of the Hagiographa, and completed it by an original translation of the Prophets and the Apocrypha. This was published

agments from 1524—1529, and first completely in forms in the latter year. It was republished in and with a new translation of the Hagiographa 31, and often afterwards[1]. Another German Bible an original translation of the Prophets appeared orms in 1529[2]. The French translation of Lefèvre er Stapulensis) was made (1523—1530) from the ate, and was not an independent work: that of tan (Neuchâtel 1535) is said to have been based e Old Testament on Sanctes Pagninus, and in the on Lefèvre[3].

Worms Bible.

French translations.

he works of the first German translators, or at least ither, must then be added to those previously enu-ed as accessible to Tyndale[4] during the execution s version of the New Testament. Luther's name ndeed at the time identified with the idea of ver-ar versions of Scripture, and it is not surprising More affirmed that Tyndale's work was a trans-. of Luther's, an assertion in which he has been ed by writers who have less excuse[5]. What Tyn-version really was we have now to inquire.

e editions which I have used se of 1530 and 1534. I have n able to consult the small edi-1529 with glosses; nor have ed the two editions or deter-how far the translation in the books differs as a whole from 's. The difference in isolated s is very considerable.

is edition I have not used.

ıave not examined Lefèvre's ion; and am ignorant also of character of Bruccioli's Italian (1530—1532), which is said to en made from the original.

e Wycliffite Versions do not have exercised any influence later English Versions, unless eption be made in the case of in-English Testament of Co-verdale mentioned above. The coincidences of rendering between this and Purvey are frequently remarkable, but as both literally reproduce the Vulgate I have been unable to find (so far as I have examined them) any certain proof of the dependence of one on the other.

As far as Tyndale is concerned—and his work was the undoubted basis of the later revisions—his own words are sufficient: 'I had,' he says in the New Testament, 'no man to coun-'terfeit [imitate], neither was helped 'with English of any that had inter-'preted the same or such like thing 'in the Scripture beforetime.' (*Epistle to the Reader*, I. p. 390.) See *App. viii.*

[5] Hallam's account is so amazing

Chap. iii. Internal History.

§ 1. TYNDALE.

Tyndale acquainted with Greek and Hebrew.

All external evidence goes to prove Tyndale's originality as a translator[1]. He had, as we have seen, formed his purpose of translating the New Testament before he could have heard of Luther's[2], and in the year in which that appeared (1522) went up to London with a translation from Isocrates as a proof of his knowledge of Greek. His knowledge of Hebrew and Greek is also incidentally attested by the evidence of Spalatinus[3], of his opponent Joye[4], and yet more clearly by the steady confidence with which he deals with points of Hebrew and Greek philology when they casually arise. Thus after defending his renderings of *presbyteros* (elder), *charis* (favour), *agape* (love), &c. against Sir T. More he says (1530): 'These things to be even so 'Mr More knoweth well enough: for he understandeth 'the Greek, and he knew them long ere I[5].' Again in an earlier work he writes (1528): 'The Greek tongue 'agreeth more with the English than the Latin. And 'the properties of the Hebrew tongue agree a thousand 'times more with the English than the Latin[6].'

Tyndale's Version compared with Vulgate and Luther.

But the translation of the New Testament itself is the complete proof of its own independence. It is impossible to read through a single chapter without gain-

from the complication of blunders which it involves that it deserves to be quoted as a curiosity. 'From this 'translation [Luther's], and from the 'Latin Vulgate, the English one of 'Tyndale and Coverdale, published 'in 1535 or 1536, is avowedly taken '...That of 1537, commonly called 'Matthew's Bible, from the name of 'the printer, though in substance the 'same as Tyndale's, was superintend-'ed by Rogers...' (*Introd. to Lit.* I. *373.*) It is impossible that he could have examined any one of the books of which he thus summarily disposes.

[1] For the part which Joye had in the work of preparing the translation see *Preface to the Parable of the Wicked Mammon.*

[2] See above, p. 26.

[3] See above, p. 34 n.

[4] Anderson, I. 397.

[5] *Answer to Sir T. More*, III. p. 23 (ed. Park. Soc.).

[6] *Obedience of a Christian Man*, I. p. 148. Compare *Answer to More*, p. 75. *Prologue to St Matthew*, I. p. 468.

the assurance that Tyndale rendered the Greek text ːctly while still he consulted the Vulgate, the Latin ıslation of Erasmus, and the German of Luther. ıs taking a chapter at random we find in Eph. iv. following certain traces of the peculiarities of the ːek which are lost in the Vulgate and the transla- ıs made from it.

in...*longsuffering*, *forbearing* one another...cum patientia supportantes...with *patience supporting* each other...(Wycliffe, Rheims).

even as...sicut...as (Wycliffe, Rheims).

and hath given...dedit...he gave...(Wycliffe, Rheims).

as *other* Gentiles...sicut et...as heathen men (Wycliffe), as *also* the Gentiles (Rheims).

backbiter...*diabolo*...*the devil* (Wycliffe, Rheims).

filthy communication.....sermo *malus*.....*evil* word (Wycliffe): *naughty* speech (Rheims).

but that which is good to edify withal *when need is*...sed si quis bonus ad ædificationem *fidei*...but if any is good to the edification *of faith* (Wycliffe); but if there be any good to the edifying *of the faith* (Rheims).

And so again Tyndale's rendering of vv. 5, 12, 14, might come from the Greek but hardly from the in. On the other hand it is evident that he had the gate before him, and that he owed to it the render- '*blindness* of their hearts' (cæcitatem), which has ngly retained its place in the authorised version.

From Luther the same chapter differs in the entire ıplexion of the rendering and unequivocally in the rpretation of the following passages:

Let there be but one Lord...Ein Herr...

Till we every one, *in the* unity of faith...grow up unto a perfect man...bis dass wir alle *hinan kom-*

ap. iii. ternal istory.

men zu einerlei glauben...*und* ein vollkom Mann *werden*...

21 as *the truth is* in Jesus.....wie in Jesu *ein schaffenes Wesen* ist.

24 in *righteousness and true holiness*...in *rechtsch Gerechtigkeit und Heiligkeit*...

Vulgate, ler, dale.

A continuous passage will place the substant dependence of Tyndale in a still clearer light[1].

	VULGATE.	TYNDALE (1525).	LUTHE
. ii. 13–	13 Nunc autem in Christo Jesu vos qui aliquando eratis longe, facti estis prope in sanguine Christi.	13 *But now in Christ Jesu ye* which a while ago *were far off are made nigh by the blood of Christ.*	13 Nun ab ihr in Christ seyd und v ferne gewese nun nahe ge durch das Christi.
	14 Ipse enim est pax nostra, qui fecit utraque unum, et medium parietem maceriæ solvens,	14 *For he is our peace* which *hath made* of *both one, and hath broken down the wall* in the midst that was a stop *between us*,	14 Denn er ser Friede, d beiden Ein gemacht, un abgebrochen Zaun der schen war,
	15 inimicitias in carne sua,	15 and hath also put away through *his flesh* the cause of hatred, that is to	15 in dem durch sein wegnahm die schaft; neml
	legem mandatorum decretis evacuans,	say, *the law of commandments contained in* the law written,	Gesetz, so in ten gestellet
	16 ut duos condat	16 *for to make of*	16 auf dass

[1] The Italics in Tyndale mark what is preserved in the Authorised Version. The only difference which I have observed between the editions of 1525 and 1534 is the omi the latter of the words *in t* in v. 14.

ILGATE.	TYNDALE (1525).	LUTHER.
netipso in ovum homi- ciens pacem, cilietambos, corpore Deo icem, inter- nimicitias in so.	*twain one new man in himself*, so *making peace and* to *reconcile both unto God in one body* through His *cross*, and slew hatred *thereby.*	zweien Einen neuen Menschen in ihm selber schaffte, und Frieden machte, und dass er beide versöhnete mit Gott in Einem Leibe durch das Kreuz, und hat die Feindschaft getödtet durch sich selbst.
veniens e- avit pacem ui longe fu- : pacem iis pe;	17 *And came and preached peace to you which were afar off, and to them that were nigh;*	17 Und ist gekommen, hat verkündiget im Evangelio den Frieden euch die ihr ferne waret, und denen die nahe waren;
ioniam per iabemus ac- ambo in uno id Patrem.	18 *For through him we both have an* open way in in *one Spirit unto the Father.*	18 Denn durch ihn haben wir den Zugang alle beide in Einem Geiste zum Vater.
go jam non spites et ad- d estis cives im et ci Dei,	19 *Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but* citizens *with the saints and of the household of God,*	19 So seyd ihr nun nicht mehr Gäste und Fremdlinge, sondern Bürger mit den Heiligen, und Gottes Hausgenossen;
perædificati ndamentum orum et Pro- n, ipso sum-	20 *And are built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ*	20 Erbauet auf den Grund der Apostel und Propheten, da Jesus Christus der

VULGATE.	TYNDALE.	LUTHER.
mo angulari lapide Christo Jesu;	*being the* head *corner-stone.*	Eckstein ist;
21 In quo omnis ædificatio constructa crescit in templum sanctum in Domino,	21 *In whom every building* coupled *together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord,*	21 Auf welch der ganze Bau einander gef wächset zu ei heiligen Tempel dem Herrn;
22 in quo et vos coædificamini in habitaculum Dei in Spiritu.	22 *in whom* ye *also are built together,* and made *an habitation* for *God* in *the Spirit.*	22 auf welch auch ihr mit erba werdet zu einer hausung Gottes Geiste.

There is, however, one other authority who ha greater influence upon Tyndale than the Vulgate o Luther. The Greek text of the New Testament pub-lished by Erasmus, which Tyndale necessarily used, was accompanied by an original Latin version in which Erasmus faithfully rendered the text he had printed. This translation is very frequently followed by Tyndale. Thus in the phrases already quoted from Eph. iv.[1] three at least seem to be due to Erasmus, 27 *backbiter, calumniatori* (Erasm.); 29 *filthy* communication, sermo *spurcus* (Erasm.); *id.* where *need is,* quoties *opus est* (Erasm.). But on the other hand, any chapter will shew important differences between Erasmus and Tyndale, not always indeed in Tyndale's favour, but sufficient at least to prove that he exercised a free judgment both in the general character and in the details of his version. A collation of Col. ii. offers the following considerable variations:

[1] See p. 137.

ERASMUS.	TYNDALE (1534).
volo	I would (so Luther)
am *sollicitudinem. fa-*	what *fighting* (*Kampf* L.)
neam	my *person* (*Person* L.)
uerint compacti.	*and* knit together (so L.)
nem opulentiam *certe*	in all riches *of full understand-*
rtæ] *persuasionis in-*	*ing* (zu allem Reichthume des
ntiæ	gewissen Verstandes L.)
ris (so L.)	the father
ambulate *sic ut* ra-	so walk rooted and built in
habeatis in illo fixas	him (so wandelt...und seyd gewurzelt L.)
exuistis	*by* putting (*durch* Abl. L.)
peccatorum carnis	the *sinful body* of the flesh (des sündlichen Leibes im Fleisch L.)
ircumcisionem Christi .)	through the circumcision *that is in* Christ
dem operationis Dei	through faith *that is wrought by* the operation of God (durch den Glauben den Gott wirket L.)
elicta et per præpu- (in den S. und in L.)	*in* sin *through* the uncircum- cision (*in* sin *and in* the... 1525)
erat contrarium nobis	that was against us *contained*
ecreta (welche durch	*in the law written* (*made* in...
ngen entstand L.)	1525)
dicet	*trouble your consciences* (euch Gewissen machen L.)
ovilunii (so L)	*as* the holiday of the new moon
unt umbra (so L.)	which are *nothing but* shadows
s autem Christi	but the body is *in* Christ (so L.)

	ERASMUS.	TYNDALE (1534).
18	ne quis *vobis patronam intervertat data opera per humilitatem et superstitionem angelorum*	Let no man *make you s a wrong mark, which a own imagination walk the humbleness and holi angels* (*Lasset euch N das Ziel verrücken*...L. *and holiness* 1525)
23	*per superstitionem ac humilitatem animi et læsionem corporis, non per honorem aliquem ad expletionem carnis*	*in chosen holiness and h ness, and in that they sp the body, and do the f worship unto his need* (s

Renderings in the quarto fragment.

A careful examination of the quarto fragmer nishes a most complete and unequivocal prc Tyndale's independence as a translator. We sha afterwards[2] that he availed himself fully of Lu notes for his own glosses, but he deals with the t one who passed a scholar's judgment upon every ment of the work, unbiassed by any predecesso nearly as I can calculate he differs from Luther in two hundred places in the chapters contained i fragment, i.—xxii. 12. Some examples will she extent and character of the differences:

[1] This last verse offers one of the most remarkable coincidences between Luther and Tyndale which I have noted. Luther's version is: durch selbsterwählte Geistlichkeit und Demuth und dadurch dass sie des Leibes nicht verschonen und dem Fleisch nicht seine Ehre thun zu seiner Nothdurft. The version in the Wittenberg Latin Bible is quite different. In a number of passages taken almost at random where Tyndale differs considerably from Luther I have noted that he agrees with Erasmus in Lu. xi. 36, 40; John ii. 9; x. 12. Acts iii. 16 xi. 8. Gal. v. 18. Eph. v. differs from Erasmus in L 42. John xi. 2. Acts iii. 20 ix. 11, 28. Gal. v. 5. Co Other differences exist betw texts of 1525, 1534 in *vv.* 10 16, 18, 20. In five places t text approaches Luther mor than the earlier: in one the holds.

[2] See p. 152, n. 1.

	TYNDALE (1525).	LUTHER.
ii.	7. the time of the star that appeared [unlike Erasmus]	wann der Stern erschienen wäre
vii.	29 he taught them as one having power [like E.]	er predigte gewaltig
xii.	18 my son [like E.]	mein Knecht
xiii.	13 for though they see, they see not; and hearing they hear not, neither understand	denn mit sehenden Augen sehen sie nicht, und mit hörenden Ohren hören sie nicht, denn sie verstehen es nicht
—	38 the evil man's children are the tares	das Unkraut sind die Kinder der Bosheit
—	57 there is no prophet without honour save...	ein Prophet gilt nirgend weniger denn...
xvi.	7 saying we have brought [like E.]	sie...sprachen Das wirds seyn dasz wir...
xix.	17 there is none good but one and that is God [like E.]	niemand ist gut, denn der einige Gott [an edition of 1524 reads: denn nur der ewige Gott]
xxi.	20 How soon is the figtree withered away! [unlike E.]	Wie ist der Feigenbaum so bald verdorret?

On the other hand there are passages (perhaps ten in all) where Luther's judgment has evidently swayed Tyndale. Of these the most remarkable are:

ii.	18 On the hills	auf dem Gebirge
iv.	25 from the ten cities	aus den zehen Städten
xi.	25 I praise Thee	ich preise Dich
xv.	9 which is nothing but mens precepts	die nichts denn Menschengebot sind
—	13 all plants	alle Pflanzen
xxi.	15 Hosianna	Hosianna

It does not seem necessary to bring forward any

Chap. iii. Internal History.

Tyndale's edition of 1534 revised by the Greek.

further evidence of the originality of Tyndale's labours on the New Testament[1]. The samples are fair specimens of the whole work. And in his labours Tyndale continued to follow to the end the path on which he had deliberately entered. The re edition of 1534 expressly claims upon the title-pa

[1] It is greatly to be regretted that Mr F. Fry did not add to his facsimile of the small Testament of 1525 a collation of the Grenville quarto fragment. The conclusion which Mr Anderson draws from the spelling as to the priority of the quarto (I. 70) is hasty and unsatisfactory. The spelling in both editions is very inaccurate. In the Sermon on the Mount I have noted among other variations the following which are more characteristic. The differen text are very slight, and in case (except in the misprint does the quarto edition give ing which has been preserved edition of 1534. So far theref quarto text seems to have be sorily revised before it was re at Worms. But a complete c of the text is desirable.

	1525. COLOGNE.	1525. WORMS.
Matt. v.	1 wen	when
	— mouth	mought
	3 thers	theirs
	4 mourne	morne
	11, 45 evle vii. 11	yvell, vii. 11 evyll
	13 but an yf	but and if
	15 all those	all them (all 1534)
	17 other the prophetts	or the prophets (so 1534)
	26 vtmoost forthynge	vtmost farthīge
	29 in to	in tho
	39, 42 turne vii. 6	tourne
	40 clooke	cloocke
	44 cursse	coursse
	45 for vi. 2, 7 &c.	ffor
	— oniuste	iniuste
vi.	5 verely	vereley
	7 thinke	thincke
	13 lede	leede
	19 moththes	mothes
	20 to gyddre	togedder
vi.	20 neryet moththes corrupte	nor mothes corupe (*om. ye*
	21 hertts (so ypocrytts, &c.)	hertes
	23 boddy	body
	24 lene to the (so 1534)	lene the
	— that other	the other (so 1534)
	26 nether	neder
	— thē (them)	then
	27 thought	tought
vii.	2 with that same	with the same (so 1534)
	6 pierles	pearles.

'diligently corrected and compared with the original reek.' In the address 'to the Christian Reader,' Tyne explains his work more in detail. 'Here thou hast, ost dear reader, the New Testament or Covenant ade with us of God in Christ's blood, which I have oked over again (now at the last) with all diligence d compared it unto the Greek, and have weeded out it many faults which lack of help at the beginning d oversight did sow therein. If ought seem changed harged 1536] or not altogether agreeing with the reek, let the finder of the fault consider the Hebrew rase or manner of speech left in the Greek words, hose preterperfect tense and present tense is often oth one, and the future tense is the optative mood so, and the future tense is often the imperative mood the active voice, and in the passive ever. Likewise erson for person, number for number, and an interroation for a conditional, and such like, is with the Iebrews a common usage. I have also in many places et light in the margin to understand the text by. If ny man find faults either with the translation or ought eside, which is easier for many to do than so well to ave translated it themselves of their own pregnant vits at the beginning without forensample, to the same t shall be lawful to translate it themselves and to put vhat they lust thereto. If I shall perceive, either by nyself or by the information of other, that ought be escaped me, or might be more plainly translated, I will shortly after cause it to be mended. Howbeit in many places methinketh it better to put a declaration in the nargin than to run too far from the text. And in many places where the text seemeth at the first chop hard to e understood, yet the circumstances before and after nd often reading together maketh it plain enough...'

A comparison of the texts of the first and second editions fully bears out the description which Tyndale has given of his work. To take one example only: of the thirty-two changes which I have noticed in the latter version of 1 John, about a third are closer approximations to the Greek: rather more are variations in connecting particles or the like designed to bring out the argument of the original more clearly; three new readings are adopted, and in one passage it appears that Luther's rendering has been substituted for an awkward paraphrase. Yet it must be remarked that even in this revision the changes are far more frequently at variance with Luther's renderings than in accordance with them[1].

The importance of the New Testament of 1534, which has altogether Tyndale's noblest monument, gives a peculiar interest to the short glosses with which it is furnished. Though these do not throw much light upon the translation itself, yet they give such a lively image of the character of Tyndale that a few specimens of them cannot be out of place even in a history of the text[2]. Generally they are pregnant and pithy comments on the passages with which they deal, designed to guide the reader to its point, and Bengel himself is not more terse or pointed. Such for example are the following[3]:

When ought is said or done that should move to godliness, he diseteth them in the teeth with his death and passion.

[1] This comparison was given in detail in the Appendix.

[2] For a full discussion on this subject see the Appendix.

[3] I have made no attempt to correct what appear to me to be errors in Tyndale's teaching. The passages quoted fairly reflect his whole style. Those who take account of the circumstances under which he had to work will not pass a severe judgment on ungarnished or one-sided statements.

'A covenant to them that love the word of God, to n other with word and deed; and another to them at love it not, that it shall be their destruction. *Mark iv. 24.*

'Adam's disobedience damned us all ere we ourselves ought evil; and Christ's obedience saveth us all ere ourselves work any good. [Luther.] *Rom. v. 15.*

'God chooseth of his own goodness and mercy: lleth through the Gospel: justifieth through faith: orifieth through good works. *Rom. viii. 28.*

'If a man have the gift, chastity is good, the more ietly to serve God; for the married have oft much uble; but if the mind of the chaste be cumbered th other worldly business, what helpeth it? and if married be the more quick-minded thereby, what rteth it? Neither of itself is better than the other. ither is outward circumcision or outward baptism rth a pin of themselves, save that they put us in nembrance to keep the covenant made between us d God. *1 Cor. vii. 26.*

'Faith maketh us sons and of the nature of Christ, d bindeth each to have other in the same reverence at he hath Christ. *Galat. iii. 26.*

'Where true faith in Christ is, there is love to the ighbour; and faith and love maketh us understand things. Faith understandeth the secrets of God d the mercy that is given her in Christ. And e knoweth her duty to her neighbour, and can erpret all laws and ordinances, and knoweth how forth they are to be kept and when to be dispensed th. *Eph. iii. 17.*

'By our works shall we be judged, for as the invisible th is, such are the works by which faith is seen. *1 Pet. i. 17.*

'We be the Church; and the obedience of the heart the spiritual sacrifice. Bodily sacrifice must be

Chap. iii. Internal History.

'offered to our neighbours, for if thou offerest it t
'thou makest a bodily idol of him.

James ii. 17. 'Now if any man that is not merciful belie
'have mercy of God he deceiveth himself; beca
'hath no God's word for him. For God's promi
'taineth to the merciful only; and true faith ther
'known by her deeds.

Rev. vii. 1. 'Angel is a Greek word, and signifieth a mess
'and all the angels are called messengers becaus
'are sent so oft from God to man on message. E
'prophets, preachers, and the prelates of the Chu
'called angels, that is to say, messengers, becaus
'office is to bring the message of God unto the p
'The good angels here in this book are the true b
'and preachers, and the evil angels are the hereti
'false preachers which ever falsify God's word
'which the church of Christ shall be thus mis
'plagued unto the end of the world, as is pain
'these figures.'

In other places Tyndale calls attention empha
to the substance of a text, often by a single wor
again by a brief note, as:

Matt. xi. 27. 'God is not known as a Father but through Ch

Acts vii. 48. 'God dwelleth not in temples or churches mad
'hands.

Acts xiv. 23. 'Prayer and fasting go together.

Acts xvii. 11. 'Search the Scriptures, for by them may ye
'doctrine.

Rom. i. 32. 'To have pleasure in another man's sin is g
'wickedness than to sin thyself.

Rom. vi. 'Eternal life is the serving of Christ.

xv. 2. 'He is strong that can bear another man's weal

Sometimes, though rarely, the gloss is simpl
planatory:

'Love is the sign that the sins are forgiven her. *Luke vii. 47.*

'This John is the same Mark that writ the Gospel of 'Mark. *Acts xii. 12.*

'These silverlings, which we now and then call pence, 'the Jews call sicles, and are worth a tenpence sterling. *Acts xix. 19.*

'This [means] thou shalt kindle him and make him 'to love. *Rom. xii. 20.*

'Bishops and elders is all one, and an officer chosen 'to govern the congregation in doctrine and living.' *Tit. i. 7.*

In a very few cases the gloss takes a polemical character, but still without bitterness:

'Go not from house to house as friars do. *Luke ix. 4.*

'To speak with tongues or with the spirit is to speak that other understandeth not, as priests say their service. *1 Cor. xiv. 16.*

'A good lesson for monks and idle friars.' [Comp. Luther.] *1 Thess. iv. 11.*

In one passage only I have noticed a mystical interpretation which is foreign to the general complexion of Tyndale's notes[1]:

'Night: when the true knowledge of Christ, how he only justifieth, is lost. Then can no man work a good work in the sight of God, how glorious soever his works appear.' *John ix. 4.*

In his Preface to the edition of 1534, Tyndale had expressed his readiness to revise his work and adopt any changes in it which might be shewn to be improvements. The edition of 1535 [or G. H. 1534] is a proof of his sincerity[2]. The text of this exhibits a true revision *The edition of 1535 again revised from the Greek.*

[1] It is right to add that I have not examined whether the glosses are suggested by any earlier commentaries.

[2] Is it this edition to which Joye refers in his *Apology* (p. 4)? Tyndale agreed, as he writes, 'that we should 'with one accord in his next Testa-'ment then in printing in the stead 'of this uncharitable epistle [added 'to the edition of 1534]...salute the 'readers with one common salutation 'to testify our conduct.' The *Apology* is dated Feb. 27, 1535. It may

and differs from that of 1534, though considerably less than the text of 1534 from that of 1525[1]. Sometimes the changes are made to secure a closer accordance with the Greek[2]: sometimes to gain a more vigorous or a more idiomatic rendering[3]: sometimes to preserve a just uniformity: sometimes to introduce a new interpretation[4]. The very minuteness of the changes is a singular testimony to the diligence with which Tyndale still laboured at his appointed work[5]. Nothing seemed trifling to him, we may believe, if only he could better seize or

be added that some of Joye's criticisms in his *Apology* on Tyndale's renderings are of interest. Thus he objects to his translation in Mark xii. 26, where he 'plays bo-peep with the 'tenses as he Englisheth *resuscitan-* 'tur [the word given by Erasmus 'for the *resurgant* of the Vulgate] '*shall rise again* and not *are revived* 'or *resuscited*...' (p. 13)... 'or *are* '*already alive:* he sayeth not that 'they *shall be alive* or *shall rise again*, 'as Tyndale in his diligent last cor- 'rection turneth the present tense 'into the future, and the verb passive 'into a neuter to stablish his error, 'thus corrupting the text' (p. 15). Again he objects to the rendering in Rom. i. 4 *since the time that Jesus Christ our Lord rose again from the dead*, where he says that Tyndale has mistaken 'what *ex eo* [the rendering of Erasmus again] there signifieth' (p. 94). In 1 Cor. xiv. 14 he maintains that '*spiritus* signifieth the breath 'and voice of our tongue...' and not spirit (p. 95). Throughout he appeals only to the Latin.

[1] In 1 John I have noted sixteen variations from the text of 1534 as against thirty-two in that of 1534 from the original text. From the great inaccuracy of the edition 'finished' 1535 it is often difficult to decide what are printers' errors and what intentional changes. The changes in the Gospels and Acts are (if I may trust a very limited collation) fewer than those in the Epistles. The variations in 1 John are given at length in App. III.

In the different Epistles the number of variations is considerable. In the Epistle to the Ephesians, neglecting undoubted misprints, I have noted only the following: i. 1 Jesu (Jesus); 20 *the dead* (*death*); ii. 1 you hath he quickened (hath qu. you); iii. 11 purposed *to* (p. *in*); iv. 11 *and* some teachers (om.); iv. 16 of *himself* (*it*self); vi. 20 messenger (*a* m.). Compare p. 184, n. 1.

[2] Matt. vi. 34 om. *for*. Mark xvi. 19 *sate him* down (for *is set* down). 1 Cor. xv. 10 add *yet*. Eph. iv. 11 add *and* some teachers.

[3] Mark xvi. 11 *though* they heard —*yet* they believed it not (for *when* they heard—they believed it not). Rom. xii. 13 *be ready* to harbour (for *diligently* to harbour). 2 Cor. vi. 18 be *my* sons (for be *unto me* sons).

[4] Eph. iv. 16 the edifying of *himself* (for the edifying of *itself*).

[5] One change is of considerable interest in connexion with the early associations of Tyndale. In the edition of 1534 (and so in that of 1536) the Epistle for St Catharine's day is that given in the Hereford Missal with which Tyndale would be familiar in Gloucestershire. In the edition of 1535 the Epistle is given correctly from the Sarum Missal.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

to others the meaning of one fragment of Scrip-

dale's first Testament was without notes: so too last. The short Prologues to the four Evange- printed separately before each Gospel. The of the tables for the Gospels and the Acts are in detail before each chapter. The marginal es of the edition of 1534 are generally preserved. h these exceptions the simple text of the New ent is given without any addition except the list on the reverse of the [second] title-page, and stles from the Old Testament at the end[2]. Thus ended as he had begun. His last Testament ial appeal to the King and to the English people. ext could gain currency it was enough, as he had lly declared[3].

This edition again without notes.

dale, as we have seen, both in his first translation his two subsequent revisions of the New Testa- ealt directly and principally with the Greek text. sed the Vulgate or Erasmus or Luther it was e judgment of a scholar. His complete inde- e in this respect is the more remarkable from found influence which Luther exerted upon his generally. The extent to which Tyndale silently

The influence of Luther on Tyndale's own writings.

ote at the end of the Sec- licate of the tables for the nd Acts printed with an- f books on a page of a dif- (36 not 38 lines) stands at ning of the volume. This d by the prologue to the rinted again in a different (37 lines). But there is shew that these were ori- ended to form part of the . They are severally con- eparate sheets with distinct . The watermarks of the paper, as far as I can make out, are distinct, and the type in which the Prologue is printed does not appear to me to range with that used in the body of the book, though extremely like it. Moreover, and this is most worthy of notice, the orthography of the two preliminary pieces presents none of the marked peculiarities by which the translation itself is generally characterized. Even 'called' and 'Holy' are spelt according to common usage.

[3] See above, p. 53.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

incorporated free or even verbal translations of passages from Luther's works in his own has escaped the notice of his editors. To define it accurately would be a work of very great labour, but the result, as exhibiting the points of contact and divergence in the opinions of the two great reformers, would be a most instructive passage in the doctrinal history of the time. Tyndale's 'Prologue' to his quarto Testament, his first known writing, almost at the beginning introduces a large fragment from Luther's Preface to the New Testament. There is indeed a ring in the opening words which might have led any one familiar with Luther's style to suspect their real source. 'Evangelion (that we call Gospel) is a 'Greek word; and signifieth good, merry, glad and 'joyful tidings, that maketh a man's heart glad and 'maketh him sing, dance and leap for joy: as when 'David had killed Goliah the giant, came glad tidings to 'the Jews that their fearful and cruel enemy was slain 'and they delivered out of all danger; for gladness 'whereof they sung, danced and were joyful[1].'

Prologue to the New Testament.

Prologue to the Romans.

The famous Prologue to the Romans (1526) is, as is well known, for the most part a paraphrase or a translation, of Luther's Preface. Like the Preface to the New Testament this writing of Luther's also had been translated into Latin (1523), and Tyndale's version seems at one time to follow the German and at another time the Latin text. Some phrases, as 'every Christian 'man must exercise himself therein [the Epistle to the

[1] Luther: Evangelium ist ein Griechisch Wort und heisset auf Deutsch gute Botschaft, gute Mähre, gute neue Zeitung, gut Geschrey, davon man singet, saget und fröhlich ist. Als da David den grossen Goliath überwand, kam ein gut Geschrey und tröstliche neue Zeitung unter das Jüdische Volk, dass ihr greulicher Feind erschlagen und sie erlöset zu Freud und Friede gestellet wären, *davon sie sungen und sprungen und fröhlich waren*. The Latin translation of the passage in the Wittenberg Bible may be added: Est enim Evangelium Graeca vox. Significans *bonum seu lætum*

as with the daily bread of the soul[1],' and 'God *fter the ground of the heart*.....therefore *his eth the ground of the heart* and love from the ıereof, and is not content with the outward ', but *rebuketh those works* most of all *which* of love *from the ground* and low bottom *of* ..[2]:' shew clearly that Tyndale could not unacquainted with the German; and on the the general complexion of the Prologue is he Latin translation than the German origi- any parts are unequivocally derived from it. lauses 'thou understandest not...how *that it cannot be fulfilled and satisfied but with an love and affection, much less can it be fulfilled ard deeds and works only*[3]'...: and again, 'if rere fleshly *and but of man's doctrine*, it might d...with outward deeds[4];' and, once more,

: quidem quod summa atione accipitur atque *ıde voluptas et lætitia timis excitatur*. Nam cum David magnum Goliath vicerat, lætum pulum Judaicum per- lissimo ipsorum hoste m essent liberati nullo itiæ atque gaudii per- The passages italicized y special coincidences rendering. on of Luther extends Testament is a book— e die.' (pp. 8—10, ed.

xhibit the same power- Luther. Of the nine- as I count them) which uarto fragment forty- ı in whole or in part ıotes, and the remain- are original. l. P. S.). Dass ein Christenmensch...damit umgehe als mit täglichen Brod der Seele. The Latin has nothing which exactly corresponds.

[2] p. 485 (ed. P. S.). Gott richtet nach des Herzens Grund. Darum fordert auch sein Gesetz des Herzens Grund, und lässet ihm an Werken nicht begnügen; sondern strafet vielmehr die Werke ohne Herzens Grund gethan...The Latin runs: Deus vero cum sit Cardiognostes judicat secundum internos motus cordis; proinde et lex Dei requirit cor et affectus, neque impletur externis operibus, nisi hilari corde et toto affectu fiant.

[3] p. 486. ...quomodo non nisi affectu [lex] impleatur ipsemet non satis tenes. Tantum autem abest ut lex externis operibus impleatur aut justificet ut etiam... For this there is nothing in the German.

[4] *Id.* Si lex esset carnalis *aut moralis doctrina tantum*...Wenn das Gesetz leiblich wäre...

Chap. III. Internal History.

'Such a new heart and *lusty courage* unto the law
'canst thou never come by *of thine own strengt*
'enforcement, *but by the operation and working*
'*Spirit*[1].' have nothing which directly correspond
them in the German. Similar instances might be
tiplied indefinitely, but the conclusion even from
seems to be inevitable that Tyndale used the La
preference while he was able also to avail himself
German.

Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount.

The coincidences between Tyndale's Exposit
the Sermon on the Mount and that of Luther, t
fewer, are even more worthy of notice. Luther's
sitory Sermons were delivered in 1530, and prin
1532, but they were not translated into Latin til
On the other hand Tyndale's Exposition was pri
1532. He must then have used the German edi
Luther, or perhaps even notes taken by some fri
by himself. The coincidences which are compar
rare are still verbal and at the same time tacit.
examples will be sufficient to indicate their chara

Matt. v. 4.

Gerechtigkeit muss an diesem Ort nicht heissen die Christliche Hauptgerechtigkeit dadurch die Person frumm und angenehm wird für Gott. Den ich habe vor gesagt dass diese acht Stück nichts anders sind denn eine Lehre von den Früchten und guten Wirken eines Christen vor welchem der Glaube zuvor muss da	Righteousness in th is not taken for the p righteousness of a C man, through which th is good and acceptec God. For these eigh are but doctrine of the fruits and wo Christian man

[1] p. 487. Talem vero novum et *ardentem ac hilarem cordis affectum* non *ex tuis ullis viribus* aut meritis, *sed* sola *operatione et afflatu spiritus* consequere. For this the G simply Ein solches Herz mand denn Gottes Geist...

der Baum und Haupt-
laraus solche Stück
hsen und folgen mus-
rumb verstehe hie die
h Gerechtigkeit für der
wir unter uns gegen
ılten...

before which the faith must be there, and as a tree out of which all such fruits and works must spring.

Wherefore understand here the outward righteousness before the world and true and faithful dealing each with other...

er ihr Almosen und
estraft hat so strafet
Fasten...wie sie des
ı...missbraucht haben
haben sie auch des
missbrauchet und ver-
reicht für ihren Leib
g und Zucht zu halten
rn von den Leuten
zu werden...dass man
dern und sagen müss-
s sind treffliche Heili-
da...gehen in grauen
den Kopf hängen,
d bleich sehen &c.
ie nicht gen Himmel
, wo wollen wir andern

Matt. vi. 18.

As above of alms and prayer, even so here Christ rebuketh the false intent and hypocrisy of fasting, that they sought praise of that work that was ordained for to tame the flesh and used such fashions that all the world might know that they fasted to praise them and to say

O what holy men are these; how pale and pitiful look they even like death, hanging down their heads...If these come not to heaven, what shall become of us poor wretches of the world?

Short Prologues to the Books of the New Testament.

it is in the shorter Prologues to the several
of the New Testament first published in 1534
e character of the dependence of Tyndale on
is best seen. Luther has no special Prologues
Gospels; but Tyndale at the close of his Pro-
ı S. Matthew, which is an extensive essay, repro-
n a modified form Luther's famous judgment on
tive worth of the apostolic books in his Preface
New Testament: '...Paul's Epistles with the

Chap. iii. Internal History.

'Gospel of John and his first Epistle, and the first 'Epistle of St Peter, are most pure Gospel and most 'plainly and richly describe the glory of the grace of 'Christ[1].' Tyndale on the other hand has no Preface to the Acts or to the Apocalypse; while Luther has to both. With these exceptions all Tyndale's Prologues correspond generally in character and form with Luther's, and every one besides that to 1 Corinthians is framed out of or with reference to them. And further, as these short Prologues were not included in the Wittenberg Bible, nor, as far as it appears, separately translated, it follows that Tyndale must have become thoroughly familiar with German during his long residence at Marburg, if he was not so before.

The Prologues in detail.

As the Prologues are interesting on every account it will be worth while to draw out a little more in detail the coincidences and differences thus generally described. The Prologues to 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1, 2 Thessalonians, 1, 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, 1, 2 Peter, 1, 2, 3 John, are almost entirely taken from Luther, but in nearly all cases in a compressed form. That to the Galatians incorporates a large piece of Luther's, but is fuller. Those to St James and St Jude are independent in treatment and conclusion, but distinctly traceable to Luther's. That to the Hebrews is a sustained argument against Luther.

Differences between Luther and Tyndale.

The changes are in all cases worthy of notice. One

[1] p. 477 (ed. P. S.). With this Luther's original judgment may be compared: Summa St. Johannis Evangelium und seine erste Epistel, St. Pauli Episteln, sonderlich die zu den Römern, Galatern, Ephesern, und St. Peter's erste Epistel, das sind die Bücher, die dir Christum zeigen und alles lehren, das dir zu wissen noth und selig ist, ob du schon kein ander Buch noch Lehre nimmermehr sehest noch hörest. Darum ist St. Jacob's Epistel eine recht ströheme Epistel gegen sie, denn sie doch keine Evangelische Art an ihr hat. The wisdom with which Tyndale avoids the bold negativism of Luther is most worthy of notice.

omissions at least is strikingly significant. In the
:e to Philemon Luther has a startling allegorical
ation of the circumstances to the history of the
nption. 'Even as Christ has dealt for us with
so St Paul deals for Onesimus with Philemon.
Christ emptied Himself of His right and overcame
Father with love and meekness, so that He must
side His wrath and right, and receive us to favour,
Christ's sake, who thus earnestly intercedes for us
akes us to Him so tenderly. For we are all His
imuses if we only believe it.' Of this character-
passage there is no trace in Tyndale. In other
Tyndale omits the temporal applications with
Luther delighted to animate his teaching[1] and
rs the peremptoriness of his exposition by a fuller
ice to the text itself. Two examples will be suffi-
o make his general method clear.

ndern lehret er wie vor
ngsten Tage das Röm-
eich zuvor muss unter-

r Endechrist sich für
fwerfen in der Christen-
d mit falschen Lehren
ichen die unglaübige
rführen,

; Christus komme, und
ihn durch seine herr-
ukunft und mit einer
ien Predigt zuvor tödte.

In the second he sheweth that the last day should not come *till there were first a departing, as some men think, from under the obedience of the emperor of Rome;* and that Antichrist should set up himself in the same place as God, and deceive the unthankful world with false doctrine, and with false and lying miracles, *wrought by the working of Satan,* until Christ should come and slay him with his glorious coming and spiritual preaching of the Word of God.

Prol. to 2 Thes.

[1] er's Preface to 1 Corinthians time, and this fact probably accounts special applications to the for Tyndale's independence.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

Im dritten thut er etliche Ermahnungen und sonderlich dass sie die müssigen, die sich nicht mit eigener Hand ernähren, strafen, und wo sie sich nicht bessern, meiden sollen; *welches gar hart wider den jetzigen geistlichen Stand lautet.*

Summa, das 1. Capitel zeiget wie die Christenheit stehen sollte zur Zeit des reinen Evangelii. Das 2. Capitel zeiget wie sie zur Zeit des Pabsts und Menschenlehre stehen würde. Das 3. *wie hernach die Leute beyde, Evangelium und alle Lehre, verachten und nichts glauben werden. Und das gehet jetzt in vollem Schwange, bis Christus kommt.*

In the third he giveth them exhortation and warneth them to rebuke the idle, that would not labour with their hands, and avoid their company if they would not amend[1].

Finally, the first chapter sheweth how it should go in the time of the pure and true Gospel: the second, how it should go in the time of the Pope and men's doctrine: the third, *how at the last men should believe nothing nor fear* GOD *at all*[2].

Tyndale's judgment on the disputed Books. Hebrews.

Tyndale's independence is however best seen in his treatment of the disputed books which Luther placed in a second rank. His Prologue to the Hebrews is a careful examination of the arguments which Luther urged against its apostolic authority, and while he leaves its authorship uncertain and will not 'think it to be an 'article of any man's faith,' yet he decides 'that this 'epistle ought no more to be refused for a holy godly 'and catholic than the other authentic scriptures.' He even uses Luther's image but to a different end:

Ob er (the author) wol nicht den Grund leget des Glaubens, wie er selbst zeuget...so bauet

And now therefore though this Epistle...lay not the ground of the faith of Christ, yet build-

[1] Prologue to 2 Thessalonians.

[2] Prologue to 2 Peter.

er doch fein drauf, Gold, Silber, Edelsteine ... Derhalben uns nicht hindern soll, *ob vielleicht etwa Holz Stroh oder Heu mitunter gemenget werde*, sondern solche feine Lehre mit allen Ehren aufnehmen; ohne dass man sie den apostolischen Episteln nicht allerdinge gleichen mag.

eth it cunningly thereon pure gold, silver, and precious stones...

And seeing the Epistle agreeth to all the rest of the Scripture (if it be indifferently looked to), why should it not be authority and taken for Holy Scripture?

Chap. iii. Internal History.

St James. St Jude.

The Epistles of St James and St Jude are dealt with in the same manner and with the same result. Of the former, Tyndale writes: 'Though this Epistle were 'refused in the old time and denied of many to be the 'Epistle of a very Apostle, and though also it lay not 'the foundation of the faith of Christ...yet because it 'setteth up no man's doctrine...and hath also nothing 'that is not agreeable to the rest of the Scriptures, if it 'be looked indifferently on, methinketh it ought of right 'to be taken for Holy Scripture[1].' Of the latter: 'As 'for the Epistle of Judas and though men have and yet 'do doubt of the author, and though it seem also to be 'drawn out of the second epistle of St Peter, and thereto 'allegeth Scripture that is nowhere found; yet seeing 'the matter is so godly and agreeing to other places of 'Holy Scripture, I see not but that it ought to have the 'authority of Holy Scripture[2].'

[1] Luther writes thus: Diese Epistel St Jacobi, wiewol sie von den Alten verworfen ist, lobe ich und halte sie doch für gut, darum dass sie gar keine Menschenlehre setzet und Gottes Gesetz hart treibet. Aber dass ich meine Meynung darauf Stelle, doch ohne jedermanns Nachtheil, achte ich sie für keines Apostels Schrift...Darum kann ich ihn nicht unter die rechten Hauptbücher setzen; will aber damit niemand wehren, dass er ihn setze und hebe wie es ihn gelüstet: denn viel guter Sprüche sonst darinne sind.

[2] Luther: Die Epistel aber St Judä kann niemand leugnen dass sie ein Auszug oder Abschrift ist St Peter's andern Epistel...und führet auch Sprüche und Geschichte die in der

ip. iii. ernal story.

The standard which Tyndale sets up may be a precarious one, but yet it differs widely from the bold subjectivity of Luther, which practically leaves no basis for the Canon but the judgment of the individual reader.

'ale's en- in the Testa-

No one who has followed thus far Tyndale's mode of dealing with the New Testament can doubt that in the Old Testament he would look first to the Hebrew text, 'which,' he writes, 'is most of need to be known';[1] and a crucial test at once offers itself. An Appendix to his New Testament of 1534 contains, as we have seen, 'The Epistles from the Old Testament according to the use of Salisbury.' Among these are passages from books which he had not published at that time, even if he had translated them, and from others which he certainly never translated. In the service-books they were of course given in Latin, and it would be most obvious, therefore, to turn them from the Vulgate text. If however in this case Tyndale took the Hebrew as his basis, and not the Latin, and still less Luther, we may be sure that he followed the like course in his continuous translations. And so it is: though he keeps the explanatory words which in some cases introduce or round off the lesson, yet the lesson itself is rendered from the original Hebrew. Two examples will be sufficient to make it plain that it is so. In a very simple passage, 1 Kings xvii. 17ff. the following variations occur where Tyndale strives to keep close to the Hebrew against the Vulgate:

18 my *sin*...	*iniquitates meæ*...
19 *he*...	*Elias*...
a high chamber...	*cenaculum*
21 *he measured* the child...	*expandit se atque mensus est* super puerum...

Schrift nirgend stehen...Darum ob ich sie wol preise, so ists doch eine unnöthige Epistel unter die Hauptbücher zu rechnen die des Glaubens Grund legen sollen.

[1] *Answer to More*, II. 75.

gle verse from Isaiah offers, as might be expected, e conclusive proof of the independence of Tyndale:

Is. li. 5.

righteousness is nigh, y salvation shall go out, ıine arm shall judge s, and islands shall look :, and shall tarry after rm.	Prope est justus meus, egressus est salvator meus, et brachia mea populos judicabunt: me insulæ exspectabunt, et brachium meum sustinebunt.

variations from Luther are nearly as numerous, still there are indications that Tyndale was acted with Luther's translation as he was with the te.

ıe continuous passage may be added as a better e of Tyndale's work, taken from his published teuch. The relation in which it stands to the ıte and Luther is, as will be seen, the same as [1]:

Num. xvi. 28 ff.

ULGATE.	TYNDALE.	LUTHER.
t ait Moyses: : scietis, quod ıus miserit me :rem universa ernitis, et non ıprio ea corde erim:	28 *And Moses said: Hereby* ye shall *know that the Lord hath sent me to do all these works*, and that *I have not done them of mine own mind.*	28 Und Mose sprach: Dabey sollt ihr merken, dass mich der Herr gesandt hat, dass ich alle diese Werke thäte, und nicht aus meinem Herzen.
i consueta ho- ı morte inter- et visitaverit laga, qua et visitari solent, isit me Domi-	29 *If these men die the common death of all men, or if they be visited after the visitation of all men, then the Lord hath not sent me.*	29 Werden sie sterben, wie alle Menschen sterben, oder heimgesucht, wie alle Menschen heimgesucht werden; so hat mich der Herr nicht gesandt.

[1] The Italics in Tyndale mark what is preserved still in A.V.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

VULGATE.	TYNDALE.	LUTH
30 Sin autem novam rem fecerit Dominus, ut aperiens terra os suum deglutiat eos et omnia quæ ad illos pertinent, descenderintque viventes in infernum, scietis quod blasphemaverint Dominum.	30 *But*, and *if the Lord make a new thing, and the earth open her mouth, and swallow them*, and *all that* pertain *unto them*, so that *they go down quick into* hell, *then ye shall understand that these men have* railed upon *the Lord.*	30 Wird Herr etwa schaffen, Erde ihre aufthut, u schlinget s lem, das s dass sie leb unter in fahren; so erkennen, Leute de gelästert h
31 Confestim igitur ut cessavit loqui, dirupta est terra sub pedibus eorum:	31 *And* as soon *as he had made an end of speaking all these words, the ground* clove *asunder that was under them*,	31 Und a Worte hat geredet, z Erde unte
32 Et aperiens os suum, devoravit illos cum tabernaculis suis et universa substantia eorum;	32 *And the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them, and their houses, and all the men that* were with *Corah and all their goods.*	32 Und Mund auf schlang si ren Häu allen Men bey Kora und mit Habe.
33 Descenderuntque vivi in infernum operti humo, et perierunt de medio multitudinis.	33 And *they and all that pertained unto them, went down alive* unto hell, *and the earth closed upon them, and they perished from among the congregation.*	33 Und fi unter le die Hölle, das sie h die Erde zu, und k aus der G

VULGATE.	TYNDALE.	LUTHER.
34 At vero omnis ael, qui stabat gyrum, fugit ad morem pereun- m, dicens: Ne te et nos terra glutiat.	34 *And all Israel that were about them fled at the cry of them: For they said, The earth* might haply *swallow us also.*	34 Und ganz Is- rael, das um sie her war, floh vor ihrem Geschrey; denn sie sprachen, dass uns die Erde nicht auch verschlinge.
35 Sed et ignis ressus a Domino terfecit ducentos inquaginta viros, ui offerebant in- censum.	35 *And there came out a fire from the Lord and consumed the two hundred and fifty men that offered* cens.	35 Dazu fuhr das Feuer aus von dem Herrn, und frass die zwey hundert und funfzig Männer, die das Räuchwerk op- ferten.

Revision of Old Testament.

In his version of the New Testament we have seen that Tyndale willingly faced the labour of minute correction. The texts of 1525, 1534 and 1535 are specifically distinct, and each later edition offers a careful revision of that which preceded it. Though the evidence is less extensive in the case of the Old Testament, it is evident that he expended no less pains upon this. The texts of 'the Epistles from the Old Testament' appended to the New Testaments of 1534 and 1535 differ in small details from the published Pentateuch of 1531 (1530)[1]; and, what is still more interesting, from one

[1] I regret that I have been unable to collate the text of the Pentateuch of 1531 (see p. 176) with that of the 'corrected' Pentateuch of 1534. The Bristol Museum has only one edition, and not two, as stated in Anderson's list. Compare pp. 176, 216 notes.

In Gen. xxxvii. 6—9, the following variations occur between the 'Epistle' and the first Pentateuch:

PENT. 1531.	NEW TEST. 1534.
this dream *which* I *have* dreamed	*a* dream *that* I dreamed
making sheaves	making *of* sheaves
lo!	see!
yours—to	*your sheaves—unto*
because of—of	*for—for*
saying	*and he said*
I *have had one* dream *more*	I *dreamed yet another* dream

another[1]. Thus in these, as in the New Testaments themselves, there is a double revision; and there is nothing to shew that Tyndale bestowed less care upon the lessons from the Apocrypha than on those from the Canonical books[2].

This patience of laborious emendation completes the picture of the great translator. In the conception and style of his renderings he had nothing to modify or amend. Throughout all his revisions he preserved intact the characteristics of his first work. Before he began he had prepared himself for a task of which he could apprehend the full difficulty. He had rightly measured the momentous issues of a vernacular version of the Holy Scriptures, and determined once for all the principles on which it must be made. His later efforts were directed simply to the nearer attainment of his ideal. To gain this end he availed himself of the best help which lay within his reach, but he used it as a master and not as a disciple. In this work alone he felt that substantial independence was essential to success. In exposition or exhortation he might borrow freely the language or the thought which seemed suited to his purpose, but in rendering the sacred text he remained throughout faithful to the instincts of a scholar. From first to last his style and his interpretation are his own, and in the originality of Tyndale is included in a large measure the

[1] For example, in Is. liii. 6, went astray (1534): went *all of us* astray (1535): 8, *when* he *is* taken (1534): *though* he *be* taken (1535): 12, of the *rich* (1534): of the *mighty* (1535).

The last Epistle (for St Catharine's day) is wrongly given in 1534, Ecclus. li. 9—12. The right lesson is substituted in 1535, Ecclus. li. 1—8.

Two most surprising misprints of 1534 are also corrected in 1535: Gen. xxxvii. 20, *a sand* pit (some pit 1535). Is. liii. came up as a *sparowe* (as a *spray* 1535).

[2] For example, in Ecclus. xxiv. 17—22 the following corrections occur: 18, of *greatness and* of holy hope (1534): of *knowledge* of holy hope (1535): 20, than honey or honeycomb (1534): than honey *and mine inheritance passeth honey* or honeycomb (1535).

iginality of our English Version. For not only did yndale contribute to it directly the substantial basis of alf of the Old Testament (in all probability) and of the hole of the New, but he established a standard of iblical translation which others followed. It is even of ess moment that by far the greater part of his translaion remains intact in our present Bibles[1], than that his pirit animates the whole. He toiled faithfully himself, and where he failed he left to those who should come fter the secret of success. The achievement was not for one but for many; but he fixed the type according o which the later labourers worked. His influence lecided that our Bible should be popular and not iterary, speaking in a simple dialect, and that so by its implicity it should be endowed with permanence. He elt by a happy instinct the potential affinity between Hebrew and English idioms, and enriched our language nd thought for ever with the characteristics of the emitic mind[2].

[1] To take two examples: about ine-tenths of the authorised version f the first Epistle of St John, and ve-sixths of the Epistle to the Ephe-ians (which is extremely difficult) re retained from Tyndale.

[2] The order of the Books in Tyndale's N. T. is worth recording:—

The four Gospels
Acts
Thirteen Epistles of St Paul (Romans—Philemon)
1. 2 Peter
1. 2. 3 John
Hebrews
James
Jude
Revelation.

This order exactly coincides with that in Luther's translation, and the books are numbered i.—xxiii. up to 3 John, while the remaining four are not numbered. So they stand also in Luther.

Note to p. 151.

In the following Table I have given he most important variations beween the editions of 1535 and 1534 n a considerable number of books. The readings adopted in Matthew, 537, are marked M.

In making the table I have had the advantage of using a collation made by Mr F. Fry, who most generously placed it at my disposal. Where I have trusted entirely to his accuracy I feel satisfied that I have not gone wrong.

St Matthew.

		1534.	1535.
iii.	12	garner M.	grange
ix.	31	name M.	fame
x.	5	sent	did...send M.
xiii.	30	gather M.	bear ye
—	55	the c. M.	a c.
xiv.	18	hither to me	hither M.
xv.	3	commandment M.	commandments
xxi.	23	elders of the M.	rulers of the
xxiv.	19	woe be	woe shall be M.
—	57	there	and there M.

St Mark.

		1534.	1535.
i.	31	forsook her by and by, and M.	forsook her, and by and by
—	39	throughout M.	through
—	42	was cleansed	he was cleansed (M. omits)
ii.	23	of corn M.	of the corn
—	27	sabbath day M.	sabbath
vi.	5	could there M.	would there
—	35	now far spent M.	too far spent
vii.	32	prayed M.	pray
—	—	to lay	to put M.
xii.	40	under colour	under a colour M.
xiii.	17	woe is	woe shall be M.
—	30	all these things	these things M.
xvi.	11	when they heard	though they heard M.
—	—	they believed	yet they believed M.
—	19	is set	sat him M.

St Luke.

		1534.	1535.
i.	5	king of	the king of M.
—	42	women	the women M.
—	75	that are	as are M.
ii.	7	within in	within M.
v.	10	catch M.	take
vii.	19	that shall c.	that should c. M.
ix.	7	done of	done by M.
—	8	of other that	of some that M.
xvii.	1	to the disciples	to his disciples M.

St John.

		1534.	1535.
v.	7	sick	sick man M.
—	38	there to his words M.	therefore his words
—	47	but now	but seeing M.
—	—	how shall	how should M.
vi.	23	other ships M.	another ship
—	60	mann of	many therefore of M.
vii.	4	known	known openly M.
—	6	your time	but your time M.
—	7	me it	but me it M.

		1534.	1535.
viii.	3	and the Pharisees	and Pharisees M.
—	14	though I M.	and if I
—	—	yet is my M.	my
—	26	but he that	yea and he that M.
—	27	they understood	howbeit they understood M.
—	44	ye will follow	ye will do M.
ix.	11	I went &	and I went & M.
x.	12	catcheth M.	taketh
—	16	that there may be M.	that they may be
—	38	though ye believe	then though ye believe M.
xi.	6	after he heard	then after he had heard M.
—	—	then abode	yet abode M.
xii.	34	heard of	heard out of M.
xv.	20	his Lord	the Lord M.
xviii.	27	denied it	denied M.
xix.	24	parted	departed M.
—	29	of vinegar by M.	of vinegar

ACTS.

		1534.	1535.	
vii.	46	desired that he might find	would fain have made M.	
viii.	3	entering	and entered M.	
—	4	they that	howbeit they that M.	
xiv.	23	after they had prayed ...they commended	and prayed...and com. M.	
xviii.	18	had a vow M.	had made a vow	
xxiv.	11	yet xii. days	yet but xii. days M.	
—	15	resurrection from death	resurrection of the dead.	Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 12, 13 M.

ROMANS.

		1534.	1535.
i.	5	obedience	the obedience M.
—	16	Jew—Gentile M.	Jews—Gentiles
ii.	1	the same	that same M.
—	8	yet follow	and follow M.
vii.	8	for	for verily M.
xii.	13	and diligently	and be ready M.
xiii.	8	these commandments M.	the commandments be
xv.	5	Christ	Christ Jesu M.
xvi.	6	the company	the congregation M.
—	—	in thy	in their M.
—	12	laboured	laboured much M.

1 COR.

		1534.	1535.
ii.	8	the world	this world M.
vii.	36	his virgin M.	his virginity
xv.	12	rose from death	rose from the dead M.
—	12,21	resurrection from death	res. of the dead M.
—	13	again from death	again of the dead M.
—	20	from death	from the dead M.

§ 2. COVERDALE.

Coverdale's Bible a secondary translation.

The contrast between Tyndale and Coverdale has been already pointed out; and in spite of all that has been written to the contrary it is impossible to grant to Coverdale's Bible a place among independent translations. In fact Coverdale distinctly disavows the claim for himself. 'I have,' he writes to the king in his dedication, 'with a clear conscience purely and faithfully 'translated this out of five sundry interpreters, having 'only the manifest truth of the Scripture before mine 'eyes...[1]' 'To help me herein,' he informs 'the Christian reader,' I have had sundry translations, not only in 'Latin but also of the Dutch [German] interpreters, 'whom, because of their singular gifts and special diligence in the Bible, I have been the more glad to follow 'for the most part, according as I was required[2].' 'Lowly 'and faithfully,' he adds, 'have I followed mine interpreters and that under correction[3].' And so it was that the title-page of his Bible which was printed with it

In connexion with this edition Mr F. Fry has made a very remarkable discovery. He has found substantially the same text in an edition dated 1534 with the letters G. H. in the border of the second title, no one of the four copies which he has examined having the first title. Out of 113 readings marked as characteristic of the edition 'finished 1535' he found 102 in this edition of 1534, while it agreed only in the 11 remaining places with M. Emperour's edition of 1534.

It seems to follow certainly from this fact that the revision was printed in the spring of 1535, i.e. before March 25. Thus 'finished 1535' would be reconcileable with the existence of an edition dated 1534 in the other reckoning.

At present it must remain doubtful whether the edition of 1534 (G. H.) or that 'finished 1535' was the original. Happily this uncertainty does not affect the text which they present in common, which is the true standard of Tyndale's completed work.

[I learn from Mr Demaus that there is a mutilated copy of the edition of 1535 in the British Museum, and that he has ascertained with tolerable certainty that it was printed by Vorstermann of Antwerp: Demaus, *Life of Tyndale*, p. 500.]

[1] *Remains*, p. 11.

[2] *Id.* p. 12.

[3] *Id.* p. 14.

Its sources.

:d it as 'faithfully translated out of Latin and
:'

hing, it might be supposed, could be more ex-
intelligible or consistent with Coverdale's aims;
critics have been importunately eager to exalt
ılarship at the cost of his honesty. If the title-
:id one who had not seen it, runs so, 'it contains
great misrepresentation[2].' To another the notice
to be a piece of advertising tact. Expediency,
supposes, led Coverdale to underrate his labours.
:t it may be readily shewn that the words are
and literally true. Coverdale certainly had some
ılge of Hebrew[3] by which he was guided at times
ting his rendering; but in the main his version is
n the Swiss-German version of Zwingli and Leo
:urich (1524-9, 1539, &c.), and on the Latin of
ıs. He made use also of Luther and the Vulgate.
h version may have been the Worms German
1529, or the Latin Bible of Rudelius with mar-
:nderings from the Hebrew (1527, 1529), or (as is
:ely), for he does not specify that his '*five* inter-
' are all Latin or German, the published English
ions of Tyndale to which he elsewhere refers.

p. 58, 59.
aker, *Historical Inquiry*,
In support of this bold
Dr Whittaker quotes four
om Coverdale (pp. 52 ff.),
ıres them with all the ver-
h, as he affirms, he could
ılted. As Coverdale differs
, he is pronounced to have
'from the Hebrew and
:hing else' (p. 50). Un-
ır Whittaker was not ac-
ith the German-Swiss Ver-
ıfficiently famous book—
:h they are all rendered.
30: Num. x. 31: Is. lvii.
5: Dan. iii. 25. [Since this was written I find that Dr Ginsburg has already pointed out the falsity of Dr Whittaker's argument: Kitto's *Cyclopædia*, s. v. Coverdale. To him therefore belongs the credit of having first clearly proved the dependence of Coverdale on the Zurich Bible. It was indeed from the reference to Dr Ginsburg in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, that I was led to examine in detail the Zurich Versions. Henceforth it may be hoped we shall hear no more of Dr Whittaker's mistake.]

[3] Compare p. 76.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

overdale's ranslation f Malachi.

The examination of a few chapters will place primary dependence of Coverdale in the Old Testam on the Zurich Bible beyond all doubt. Thus in the short chapters of Malachi there are about five-and-twe places where he follows the German against the Heb and Vulgate. Three sample instances may be quo In i. 4, it is said 'they shall be called *The borde* '*wickedness*,' in the Hebrew and Latin as in the Aut ised Version, but in Coverdale '*A cursed land*,' a lit translation of the German. Again in i. 13, 'it is *wi* '*ness* to me,' a single word, but in Coverdale and German we read 'it is but *labour and travail*.' (again in iii. 8, 'will a man *rob* God?' is represente Coverdale and the German by 'should a man *use f* '*hood and deceit* with God?' And such coincide occur not in one book only but throughout the Testament[1]. But at the same time on rare occa Coverdale prefers to follow some one of the other t lations which he consulted. Thus in two passages, 14, 15, of which the latter is a very remarkable on adopts the renderings of Pagninus and Luther in pr ence to those of the Zurich Bible.

General character of his Bible.

It is not therefore surprising that notwithstar his acknowledged partiality for the German transl Coverdale availed himself freely of the work of Ty as far as it was published, the Pentateuch, Jonah[2] the New Testament[3]. His Pentateuch may, in

[1] Other examples are given more at length in § 4, and App. VII.

[2] A verse from Jonah (iv. 6) may be quoted to shew the extent of the resemblance. The variations of Tyndale are noted in italics and given below: 'and the Lord *God** pre- 'pared† a wild vine which sprung 'up over Jonas that he might have 'shadow *above*‡ his head, to deliver 'him out of his pain. And 'was exceeding glad of the wil * *om.* Tyndale. † *add* as i Tyndale. ‡ *over*, Tyndale One singular phrase in ii. mon to Cov. and Tyn. may be 'all thy waves and *rowles o* 'went over me.'

[3] Like Rogers he neglec fragmentary 'Epistles.' See

s a partial examination has misled me, be fairly ibed as the Zurich translation rendered into English he help of Tyndale, with constant reference to er, Pagninus and the Vulgate. In the remaining s of the Old Testament the influence of the Zurich greatly preponderates[1]. In the Apocrypha Cover- moves with comparative freedom, and his transla- nas far more originality.

His New Testament a revision of Tyndale's.

he New Testament is a very favourable specimen s labour. Its basis is Tyndale's first edition, but ne very carefully revised by the help of the second on[2] and yet more by the German. Thus on a rough lation of changes, not simply of form or rhythm, than three-fourths of the emendations introduced Coverdale into Tyndale's version of 1 John are ed from Luther, but the whole number of changes, they are nearly all verbal, is, if I have counted ly, only a hundred and twenty-three.

Coverdale's merits as a translator.

hus the claims of Coverdale, as far as his Bible is erned, must be reduced to the modest limits which ked himself. But though he is not original yet he endowed with an instinct of discrimination which is ely less precious than originality, and a delicacy of hich is no mean qualification for a popular trans- . It would be an interesting work to note the e changes of order and turns of expression which we to him[3]. In the epistle from which most of our

is various renderings throw light on the authorities which nsulted. These are traced to ources in App. IV.

1 John he appears to follow st and second editions where iffer in about an equal number es. But it is evident that the lition was his foundation, for ows it in one clear mistake of reading iii. 11, that *ye* should love, and in one error of grammar, iv. 20, *hateth*, both of which were corrected by Tyndale on revision, and would not have been reintroduced.

The changes are such as would easily have been made while the book was passing through the press.

[3] See Note at the end of the Section.

ap. iii. ternal istory.

illustrations have been taken 'the pride of *life*' and 't 'world *passeth* away,' are immeasurable improveme on Tyndale's 'the pride of *goods*,' and 'the world *vani* '*eth* away;' and the rendering 'shutteth up his *hea* (due to Luther) is as much more vigorous than Tyndal 'shutteth up his *compassion*' as it is more touching th the strange combination of the Authorised Versi 'shutteth up his *bowels of compassion*.'

Coverdale has a tendency to diffuseness, which i some places (as Ecclus. xliv.) leads him to long para phrases of his text. The fault is one from which th Zurich Bible also suffers, and he may have fallen into i from imitating the style of his model too closely ev when he abandoned its words. But his phrasing i nearly always rich and melodious. The general cha racter of his version as compared with that of Tyndal may be very fairly represented by that of the Praye Book Version of the Psalms as compared with the Au thorised Version in the Bible. In both cases Coverdale's work is smooth rather than literal. He resolves rela tives and participles and inserts conjunctions, if in that way he may make the rendering easier[1].

account is work.

Just as Coverdale valued highly the existence o many translations[2] so he claimed for himself the righ to extend this characteristic of diversity to his own work He thought that he could thus attain comprehensive ness by variety, and secure in some measure for on translation the advantages which he found in man 'Whereas the most famous interpreters of all give sui 'dry judgments of the text, so far as it is done by th 'spirit of knowledge in the Holy Ghost, methink i 'man should be offended thereat, for they refer the 'doings in meekness to the Spirit of truth in the congr

[1] See p. 208. [2] See p. 60.

tion of God...Be not thou offended therefore, good ader, though one call a *scribe* that other calleth a *wyer;* or *elders* that other calleth *father and mother;* : *repentance* that another calleth *penance* or *amend-ent*...And this manner have I used in my translation, alling it in some place *penance* that in other place I all *repentance;* and that not only because the inter-reters have done so before me, but'—and this intro-ces a second characteristic reason—'that the adver-aries of the truth may see how that we abhor not this ord penance, as they untruly report of us[1]...'

The work which he did for the English Bible.

There may be some weakness in this, and Coverdale ffered for it; yet it may not be lightly condemned. crises of great trial it is harder to sympathize with any views than with one. There is a singularity hich is the element of progress; but there is a catho-city which is the condition of permanence; and this overdale felt. 'As the Holy Ghost is one working in thee and me as He will, so let us not swerve from that unity but be one in Him. And for my part I ensure thee I am indifferent to call it as well with the one term as with the other, so long as I know that it is no prejudice nor injury to the meaning of the Holy Ghost...[2]' He may have carried his respect for some so-called 'Ecclesiastical' words to an excessive length, but even in this respect his merit was substantial. It was well that Tyndale should for a time break the spell which was attached to words like *charity, confess, church, grace, priest,* and recall men to their literal meaning in *love, [ac]knowledge, congregation, favour, elder;* but it was no less well that the old words, and with them the historical teaching of many centuries, should not be wholly lost from our Bibles. That they were not lost

[1] *Remains*, pp. 19, 20.

[2] *Remains*, p. 29.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

was due to the labours of Coverdale; but his in was felt not so much directly through his ov bible, as through Matthew's Bible, in which portion of it was incorporated, and still more t the Great Bible, in which he revised more tha his own work and that of Tyndale with which been joined[1].

[1] The classification of the books in Coverdale's Bible (1535) is the following:—

(1) The Pentateuch.

(2) The second part of the Old Testament.

Josua—1 Esdr. 2 Esdr. Esther.

Job—Salomons Balettes (with no special heading).

(3) All the Prophets in English.

Esay, Jeremy, *Baruch*, Ezechiel—Malachy.

(4) Apocrypha. 'The books and 'treatises which among the fathers of 'old are not reckoned to be of like 'authority with the other books of 'the Bible, neither are they found in 'the Canon of the Hebrew.

'3 Esdras, 4 Esdras...1 Mach. 2 'Mach.

'Unto these also belongeth Ba- 'ruch, whom we have set among the 'prophets next unto Jeremy, because 'he was his scribe, and in his time.'

(5) The New Testament.

iv. Gospels. Acts.

The Epistles of S. Paul.

Romans—Philemon.

1. 2 S. Peter.

1. 2. 3 S. John.

Hebrews.

S. James.

S. Jude.

The Revelation of S. J

In Nycolson's new editi Bible (1537) the books are differently:

(1) The first part: Genes

(2) The second part: 1 Esther.

(3) The third part: Job—S Ballets.

(4) The Prophets: Esa mias, Threni, Ezech.—Mal

(5) The Apocrypha: 3 Esdr....Baruch...1 Mach.

The books in the N.T. same order as before.

The edition of 1550 fo order of that of 1537.

The edition of 1537 is de being 'newly overseen and c but as far as I have been ab pare the texts the differen are not accidental are few portant. In 1 John I ha only the following:—

i. 1 of *the* life (of life 153 7 is light (is *in* light).

ii. 14 *the* wicked (*that* wic 28 be ashamed (be *made*

iii. 18 my children (my *little*

iv. 3 *the* spirit (*that* spirit).

v. 10 because...of his Son. in 1535.

11 *the* record (*that* reco

Note to p. 171.

The following samples taken from a single gospel (St Matthew) will illustrate the felicity of C minute changes.

	COVERDALE, 1535.	TYNDALE, 1534.
i.	25 firstborn son A.V.	first son
ii.	2 the newborn king	he that is born king
iii.	4 a leathern girdle A.V.	a girdle of a skin

COVERDALE, 1535.	TYNDALE, 1534.
to repentance A.V. (unto)	in token of repentance
I have need to be A.V.	I ought to be
again the devil took him up A.V. (taketh)	the devil took him up again
that the thing might be A.V. (it)	to fulfil that
one hair white A.V.	one white hair
the other also	the other
thy kingdom A.V.	let thy kingdom
debts A.V.	trespasses
do the heathen seek	seek the gentiles
every day hath enough of his own travail	for the day present hath ever enough of his own trouble
Lord, Lord A.V.	Master, Master
the will of my Father A.V.	my Father's will
subject to the authority of another	under power
a righteous man's reward A.V.	the reward of a righteous man
the violent A.V.	they that go to it with violence
the shew breads	the hallowed loaves
to do good	to do a good deed
goeth he A.V.	he goeth
unto you it is given	it is given unto you A.V.
&c. parables	similitudes
till the harvest A.V. (until)	till harvest come
put he forth A.V.	he put forth
because of their unbelief A.V.	for their unbelief's sake
for the wind was contrary A.V.	for it was a contrary wind
if it be thou A.V.	if thou be he
crieth after us A.V.	followeth us crying
it will be foul weather to-day A.V.	to-day shall be foul weather
red and gloometh	cloudy and red
we have taken	because we have brought
charged he A.V.	he charged
the things that be of God, but of men	godly things but worldly things
overshadowed A.V.	shadowed
do alway	always
have patience with me A.V.	give me respite
shouldest not thou then A.V. (also)	was it not meet also that thou shouldest
all these have I kept from my youth up A.V. (things)	I have observed all these things from my youth
but when the first came they supposed A.V.	then came the first supposing
but what think ye? A.V.	what say ye to this?
is become the head stone	is set in the principal part
the God of Abraham A.V.	Abraham's God

Chap. iii. Internal History.

		COVERDALE, 1535.	TYNDALE, 1534.
xxiii.	9	One is your Father A.V.	there is but One your Father
—	15	to make one proselyte A.V.	to bring one in to your belief
xxiv.	28	there will the eagles be gathered together A.V.	even thither will the eagles resort
—	44	that ye think not A.V. (as)	ye think he would not
—	45	in due season A.V.	in season convenient
xxv.	21	enter thou into the joy of thy Lord A.V.	enter in into thy master's joy
xxvi.	64	from this time forth	hereafter A.V.
xxvii.	6	God's chest	treasury A.V.
—	62	the day of preparing	Good Friday

§ 3. MATTHEW.

Matthew's Bible composite.

The Bible which bears Matthew's name consists of three distinct elements. The Pentateuch and the New Testament are reprinted from Tyndale's published translations with very slight variations[1]. The books of the Old Testament from Ezra to Malachi, and the Apocrypha, are reprinted in like manner from Coverdale. The remaining books of the Old Testament from Joshua to 2 Chronicles are a new translation. Nothing in the book itself indicates the sources from which it was derived, and the direct external evidence is vague and inconclusive. If it proves anything it proves too much.

Strype's account of it

Thus Strype, following Bale, relates that Rogers 'translated the Bible [in this edition] into English from 'Genesis to the end of Revelations, making use of the 'Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German and English (that is 'Tyndale's) copies.' He also it is said 'added prefaces

[1] I have not collated any considerable passages of the Pentateuch with Matthew, though it would be interesting to compare a complete book in the Pentateuchs of 1531 and 1534 with Matthew (1537). The text of Matthew's New Testament is examined below, p. 183.

In Mr Offor's MS. Collections for a history of the English Bible (*Brit. Mus.* 26,670–3) there is a collation of Tyndale's Pentateuchs of 1530 (1531) and 1534 with one another and also with Matthew and Coverdale. Matthew appears to follow the earlier edition almost without exception: Coverdale generally the later. I have not however verified the collations.

'and notes out of Luther, and dedicated the whole book to 'king Henry, under the name of Thomas Matthews (*sic*) 'by an epistle prefixed, minding to conceal his own 'name[1].' No description could well be more inaccurate. More than a third of the book is certainly Coverdale's. The Preface to the Apocrypha is translated from that in the French Bible of Olivetan[2]. The Prologue to the Romans is Tyndale's. The dedication is signed by Thomas Matthew. It is evident that no dependence can be placed on the details of such evidence. The narrative of Foxe is not more satisfactory: 'In the 'translation of this Bible the greatest doer was indeed 'W. Tyndale, who with the help of Miles Coverdale had 'translated all the books thereof except only the Apo- 'crypha, and certain notes in the margin which were 'added after. But because the said W. Tyndale in the 'meantime was apprehended before this Bible was fully 'perfected, it was thought good...to father it by a 'strange name of Thomas Matthewe. John Rogers at 'the same time being corrector to the print, who had 'then translated the residue of the Apocrypha and 'added also certain notes thereto in the margin: and 'thereof came it to be called "Thomas Matthewe's 'Bible[3]."' It is unnecessary to dwell upon the errors in this account. Foxe has evidently wrought out into a story the simple fact that Tyndale, Coverdale and Rogers were all engaged upon the work.

Foxe's account.

But although these original statements are thus loose, and I have been unable to find any more trustworthy, it can scarcely be doubted that Rogers did super-

Rogers edited it.

[1] Strype, *Cranmer*, I. 117. With singular inconsistency Strype elsewhere (p. 84) gives Foxe's account (quoted below), which is different from this in many essential particulars.

[2] This insertion is very remarkable. I have not been able to detect any other mark of the influence of the French translation on Matthew.

[3] *Acts and Monuments*, V. 410.

intend Matthew's Bible, and used in it the materials which Tyndale had prepared, and that these constituted the new translation (Joshua—2 Chronicles). If he had purposed to complete the translation himself it is not likely that he would have paused at the end of 2 Chronicles. On the other hand, Tyndale's engagements might have allowed him to complete thus much more of his work in the interval between the publication of his Pentateuch and his death. The version of Jonah was an exceptional work, and furnishes no ground for supposing that he did not intend to proceed regularly through the Old Testament. Perhaps, too, it was from the exceptional character of this translation, which was as it were a text for the Prologue, that Rogers was led to adopt Coverdale's version of Jonah as well as of the other prophets, though he could not have been ignorant of Tyndale's work; and the fact that Coverdale had used Tyndale's rendering diligently left no overpowering reason for abandoning him.

The version of Jonah from Coverdale.

We are not however left wholly to conjecture in determining the authorship of the original portion of Matthew's Bible. The 'Epistles of the Old Testament' added to Tyndale's New Testament of 1534, contain several passages from the historical books as well as from the Pentateuch; and generally it may be said that these fragments bear about the same relation to the translation in Matthew as those from the Pentateuch do to Tyndale's published text. There are from time to time considerable variations between them, but still it is evident that the renderings are not independent. It is of course possible that Rogers may have consulted the fragments in the execution of his work, but, as will appear directly, this supposition is practically inadmissible, because the corresponding sections from the Prophets and the Apocrypha are completely neglected.

Matthew's text compared with the 'Epistles from the Old Testament.'

Examples.

Two examples will illustrate the extent of the coincidence and variations between the versions, and serve to shew how much dependence can be placed on this indication of the identity of their authorship.

TYNDALE, 1534.	MATTHEW (TYNDALE).
17 '*In those days it chanced* 'that the son of the wife of 'the house *was* sick, and *the* 'sickness was so *great* that 'there *remained no breath* in 'him. 18 Then *she said to* '*Helias*, What have I to do 'with thee *thou* man of God? '*Didst* thou come *to* me that 'my sin should be *kept in mind* 'and *to slay my son?* 19 And '*he* said unto her give me thy 'son, and he took him out of 'her lap, and carried him up 'into *an high chamber* where '*he himself dwelt* and laid him '*on the* bed. 20 And *he called* 'unto the Lord, and said, O 'Lord my God, hast thou *dealt* '*so cruelly with* the widow with 'whom I *dwell as to kill* her 'son? 21 And he *measured the* '*child* three times, and called 'unto the Lord, and said, *Lord*, 'my God, let this *child's* soul 'come *again into him.* 22 And 'the Lord *hearkened unto* the 'voice of *Helias*, and *this child's* '*soul* came *again into him*, and 'he revived.'	17 '*After these things it hap-* '*pened*, that the son of the wife 'of the house *fell* sick, and his 'sickness was so *sore* that 'there *was no breath left* in him. '18 Then *said she unto Eliah*, 'What have I to do with thee, '*O thou* man of God? *Art* 'thou come *unto* me that my 'sin should be *thought on* and '*my son slain?* 19 And *Eliah* 'said unto her, Give me thy 'son. And he took him out 'of her lap and carried him 'up into *a loft* where *he lay*, 'and laid him *upon his own* 'bed; 20 And *called* unto the 'Lord, and said, O Lord my 'God, hast thou *been so evil* '*unto* this widow with whom I '*sojourn, that thou hast slain* 'her son? 21 And he *stretched* '*himself upon the lad* three 'times, and called unto the 'Lord, and said, *O Lord* my 'God, let this *lad's* soul come '*unto him again.* 22 And the 'Lord *heard* the voice of *Eliah*, 'and *the soul of the lad* came '*into him again* and he revived.'

1 *Kings xvii.* 17—22.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

To these versions that of Coverdale[1] may be added for comparison. The differences from *both* the others are marked: '*After these acts* the son of the wife of the 'house was sick, and his sickness was so *exceeding* sore 'that there remained no breath in him. *And* she said 'unto Elias What have I to do with thee, thou man of 'God? art thou come unto me that my sin should be 'kept in *remembrance*, and *that* my son *should be* slain. '*He* said unto her give me thy son. And he took him '*from* her lap and carried him up into *the chamber* 'where he himself dwelt, and laid him upon his bed, 'and called *upon* the Lord and said, O Lord my God, 'hast thou *dealt so evil* with the widow with whom I 'dwell, that thou *wouldest slay* her son? And he 'stretched *out* himself *over* the child three times, and 'called *upon* the Lord and said, O Lord my God let '*the soul of this child* come again into him. And the 'Lord heard the voice of Elias, and *the soul of the child* 'came again *unto* him, and he revived.'

The second example is similar in character:

	TYNDALE, 1534.	MATTHEW (TYNDALE).
1 *Kings xix.* 5—7.	5 'And as he lay and slept 'under *a* genaper tree behold 'an angel touched him and 'said *thus:* Up and eat. 6 'And he looked *up*, and *behold* 'there was at his head *a cake* '*baken on the coals* and a cruse 'of water. And he ate and 'drank, and laid him down 'again. 7 And the angel of 'the Lord came again the se- 'cond time, and touched him,	5 'And as he lay and slept 'under *the* ginaper tree, be- 'hold *there came* an angel *and* 'touched him and said *unto* '*him*, Up and eat. 6 And he 'looked *about him*, and *see* 'there was *a loaf of broiled* '*bread* and a cruse of water at 'his head. And he ate and 'drank, and laid him down 'again *to sleep?* 7 And the 'angel of the Lord came again

[1] The text of 1537 agrees with that of 1535.

TYNDALE, 1534.	MATTHEW (TYNDALE).
'and said, Up and eat, for thou 'hast a great way to go.'	'the second time, and touched 'him and said Up and eat, for 'thou hast a *long journey* to go.'

Chap. iii. Internal History.

These versions may again be compared with Coverdale's: 'And *he laid him down* and slept under the 'juniper tree; *and* behold *the* angel touched him and 'said unto him *Stand* up and eat. And he looked 'about him, and behold at his head there was a *bread* 'baken on the coals and a cruse *with* water. And *when* '*he had eaten and drunken he* laid him down again to 'sleep. And the angel of the Lord came again the 'second time and touched him and said *Stand* up and 'eat, for thou hast a great way to go[1].'

It must be remembered in considering these fragments that they are taken from simple narratives, where there is comparatively little scope for striking variations[2]. But even so, as far as they go, they fall in with the traditional belief that the new translation in Matthew's Bible is really Tyndale's and not a new work of Rogers[3].

Tyndale's fragmentary translations neglected.

But while Rogers thus incorporated into his Bible, as we believe, all the complete translations of Tyndale, except Jonah, he took no account of the fragments which Tyndale had appended to the revised edition of his New Testament as 'Epistles from the Old Testa-'ment according to the use of Salisbury.' This col-

[1] The editions of 1535 and 1537 again agree.

[2] In a few verses of Genesis (xxxvii. 5—9) seven variations occur. See p. 163, n. The passage Ex. xxiv. 12—18, on the other hand, shews only one variation. Ex. xx. 12—24 and Num. xx. 2—13 are very similar in both, but with variations.

[3] I am unable to speak of the style of the two groups of books—the Pentateuch and Joshua—2 Chron. A careful comparison of the versions in this respect could not fail to be fruitful; but to be of any value it must be minute. I can find nothing but vague generalities in the authors to whom I have referred.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

lection includes (if I have counted rightly) twenty-three lessons from the prophets and six from the Apocrypha, besides others from the Pentateuch and Hagiographa. In those which I have examined Matthew's Bible coincides verbally with Coverdale, and Tyndale's version is wholly different from both. Two examples will be sufficient to shew the extent of the variation, and they are the more worthy of consideration as the relation of Rogers to the two earlier translations has been commonly misrepresented. There is nothing which proves that he allowed himself more liberty in dealing with Coverdale's work than in dealing with Tyndale's.

	TYNDALE.	MATTHEW (COVERDALE).
Is. li. 6.	'My righteousness is nigh, 'and my salvation shall go 'out and mine arm shall judge 'nations and islands shall look 'for me and shall tarry after 'mine arm.'	'It is hard by that my health 'and my righteousness shall 'go forth, and the people shall 'be ordered with mine arm. 'The islands (that is, the Gen- 'tiles) shall hope in me and 'put their trust in mine arm.'
Ecclus. xv. 5.	'She shall exalt him among 'his neighbours and shall open 'his mouth even in the thick- 'est of the congregation.'	'She shall bring him to ho- 'nour among his neighbours 'and in the midst of the con- 'gregation shall she open his 'mouth.'

The text of Matthew's Bible only provisional.

It is then evident that Rogers did not undertake an elaborate revision of the texts of Tyndale and Coverdale which he adopted. Still there are some changes in the version which are unquestionably intentional (*e.g.* Prov. i. 1, Is. i. 1), and numerous various readings in the margin (*e.g.* Ps. xlvii. f.). The numbering of the Psalms is accommodated to the Hebrew division. The interpolated verses in Ps. xiv., which Coverdale had

ecially marked as 'wanting in the Hebrew' are nitted. The 'Hallelujah' in the last Psalm is nobly ndered 'Praise *the Everlasting*.' The characters in Solomon's Ballet' (Canticles) are distinguished by ibricated headings. But the distinguishing feature of ie edition is the marginal commentary on which the nief labour of the editor was bestowed. This however elongs rather to the history of doctrine than to the istory of the English Bible[1]. And when this is set side the textual peculiarities of the edition are unimortant. In itself Matthew's Bible has had no original nd independent influence upon the authorized text. ts great work was to present the earlier texts in a ombined form which might furnish the common basis f later revisions. But in this respect it is most unjust o call it Tyndale's Bible. If regard be had to the ooks taken from each it is in its primitive form hardly ess Coverdale's than Tyndale's, though (if we except he Psalms) much more of Tyndale's than of Coverale's work has been preserved unchanged in common se.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

There is still one point in the history of Matthew's ible which is of considerable interest. The text of the ew Testament differs considerably in details from yndale's revised edition of 1534. This fact has lent olour to the belief that Rogers revised the text of the ible throughout, for it has been assumed that Tynale did not again revise his own work. The assumption and the conclusion were equally wrong. It has een seen already that the remarkable New Testament f 1535 was again, as the title-page affirms, 'diligently

The New Testament of Matthew taken from Tyndale's revision of 1535.

[1] It would be an interesting and viously used. Some specimens of isy task to trace out the sources of the notes are given in App. v. See ie commentary. Pellican was ob- also p. 72 n. 2.

'corrected and compared with the Greek,' and this last revision, and not that of 1534, was adopted by Rogers. The differences which exist between Matthew and this last Testament of Tyndale are very slight and can be explained in most cases by the supposition of accidental errors: their agreement on the other hand extends to the adoption of some certain mistakes. A complete collation remains yet to be made, but on an examination of a large number of passages I have found scarcely any characteristic readings of the edition of 1535 which do not also appear in Matthew's Bible of 1537[1]. From

[1] The following collation of Tyndale's Testaments of 1534, 1535, and Matthew of 1537 in Mark xvi. and the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians will justify in all respects the statements made in the text. The error in Mark xvi. 17 is very remarkable. The readings in ( ) are those of the Testament of 1534.

Mark xvi. 11 *though* (when 1534) they heard...and (he 1534) had appeared...*yet* (om.)...they believed not. So Matthew (1537).

— 17 these *things* (these signs). So Matthew.

— 19 *sate him* down (*is set* down). So Matthew.

Rom. i. 5 unto + *the* obedience. So Matthew.

16 the Jew*s*...the Gentile*s*... Not Matthew.

— ii. 1 in *that* (the) same. So Matthew.

8 *and* (yet) follow. So Matthew.

9 Jew*s*...Gentile*s*... Not Matthew.

— iv. 10 in + *the* time of circumcision. So Matthew.

— vii. 8 for + *verily* without the law. So Matthew.

— viii. 3 inasmuch + *as* it was weak. So Matthew.

15 *not* (no) received. So Matthew.

30 them also he c. (them he also c.) So Matthew.

— ix. 16 *running* (cunning). So Matthew.

xii. 13 *be ready* to harbour (*diligently* to h.). So Matthew.

— xiii. 9 *the* commandments *le* (these c.). Not Matthew.

13 as were it in (*the* 1534) day. Not Matthew.

— xiv. 15 with (*thy* 1534) meat. Not Matthew.

— xv. 5 Christ + *Jesu*. So Matthew.

— xvi. 5 the *congregation* that is in *their* house (all the company that is in thy house). So Matthew.

18 preaching (preachings). So Matthew.

19 innocent *as* concerning (innocents concerning). So Matthew.

Gal. ii. 1 thereafter (after that). So Matthew.

2 *between ourselves* with them (apart with them). So Matthew.

16 *can* be (shall be). So Matthew.

— iii. 4 *then* ye (there ye). Matthew omits.

9 + *the* faithful A. Not Matthew.

16 as one (as *in* one).... Not Matthew.

[Prof. Moulton informs me that there are eight differences between the editions of Matthew of 1537 and 1551 in these passages.]

Compare also App. III. and note p. 165.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

Internal evidence it seems likely that both these texts were taken from the same corrected copy of Tyndale. Such a hypothesis would account equally for the discrepancies between them, since the New Testament at least is most carelessly printed, and for their agreement in errors, which can only have been derived from the original copy[1].

§ 4. The Great Bible.

The Great Bible a revision of Matthew's by Coverdale.

Matthew's Bible was essentially a transitional work. It had hardly passed into circulation when a careful revision of it was undertaken. This, as all evidence external and internal goes to prove, was entrusted to Coverdale. It was thoroughly characteristic of the man that he should be ready to devote himself to the perfecting of another's labours; and he has left us an account of his method of procedure. 'We follow,' he writes, 'not only a standing text of the Hebrews, with 'the interpretation of the Chaldee and the Greek[2]; but 'we set also in a private table the diversity of readings 'of all texts...' And again when the work had made some progress he enters into greater details: 'As touch-'ing the manner and order that we keep in the same 'work, pleaseth your good lordship to be advertised that

Coverdale's plan. June 23rd, 1538.

Aug. 9th.

[1] The Books of the Bible are arranged in the following order:
The books of the Old Testament.
Genesis—The Ballet of ballets.
The Prophets: Isaiah—Malachi.
The Apocrypha: 3 Esdr. 4 Esdr. .....Baruch.....1 Mach. 2 Mach.
The New Testament.
The four Gospels. The Acts.
The Epistles. ¶ Romans—Philemon.
¶ 1. 2 S. Peter.
¶ 1. 2. 3 S. John.
¶ To the Hebrews.
¶ S. James.
¶ Judas.
¶ The Revelation.
The order of the books in Taverner (1539) is the same.

[2] These would be accessible in the Complutensian Polyglott. A copy of this with the autograph of Cranmer is now in the British Museum. Coverdale may have used these very volumes.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

'the mark ☞ in the text signifieth that upon the same 'in the latter end of the book there is some notable 'annotation which we have written without any private 'opinion, only after the best interpreters of the He- 'brews, for the more clearness of the text. This mark 'o+ betokeneth that upon the same text there is diver- 'sity of reading among the Hebrews, Chaldees and 'Greeks and Latinists; as in a table at the end of the 'book shall be declared. This mark * sheweth that 'the sentence written in small letters is not in the He- 'brew or Chaldee, but in the Latin, and seldom in the 'Greek, and that we nevertheless would not have it 'extinct, but highly accept it for the more explanation 'of the text. This token † in the Old Testament 'giveth to understand that the same text which follow- 'eth it is also alleged of Christ or of some Apostle in 'the New Testament. This among our other necessary 'labours is the way that we take in this work...'

Münster's edition his chief help in the Old Testament.

It is obvious that a man who thus describes his plan is not the mere press-corrector of another's revision, but himself the editor of the entire work[1]. If there were any doubt remaining it would be removed by the character of the revision. About the time when Coverdale's own Version was passing through the press a new Latin Version of the Old Testament with the Hebrew text and a commentary chiefly from Hebrew sources was published by S. Münster (1534—5). It does not appear that at that time Coverdale was able to avail himself of it. The Zurich Version was sufficient. But

[1] It is a very important confirmation of this view that Fulke speaks of the Bible of 1562 'most used in the 'Church Service in King Edward's 'time' as 'Doctor Coverdale's trans- 'lation.' (*Defence of Eng. Trans.* p. 68). This was an edition of the Great Bible. This passage also explains the anecdote which he gives of the criticism and revision of 'Coverdale's Bible.' See p. 200, n. 1.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

very slight comparison of Münster with the Zurich ble could not fail to bring out the superior clearness the former. Even a poor Hebrew scholar must feel general faithfulness. Thus Coverdale found an ob- ous method to follow. He revised the text of Mat- ew, which was laid down as the basis, by the help of ünster. The result was the Great Bible.

One difficult passage given in full will be sufficient shew the certainty of this explanation of the origin of e text of the Great Bible, and for the interest of the mparison the Zurich original of Coverdale's transla- on is added[1].

MATTHEW (TYNDALE). '*Through a window looked Sisera's mother* and *howled* through *a lattice* Why *abideth* his chariot so long, that *it* cometh not? *Why tarry* the wheels of his *waggons?*

Judges v. 28—30.

'The wisest *of her* ladies answered *her, yea and she answered her own words herself, Haply,* they *have found* and divide the spoil: a maid, *yea two maids, for a piece: a spoil of diverse colours for* Sisera, a spoil *of divers colours with brodered works, divers coloured brodered works for* the neck *of* a prey.'

COVERDALE.	ZURICH VERSION.
His mother looked out at the window, and *cried piteously* rough *the trellis,* Why *tarieth* his chariot *out* so long at *he* cometh not? *Where re do* the wheels of his *chaot make so long tarrying?*	Seyn mutter sach zum fenster ausz, vnnd Schrey mit klag durchs gätter: Warumb bleibt sein wagen so lang aussen, das er nit kompt? Warumb verziehend die reder seins wagens?

[1] The italicised words are differtly rendered in the several versions, d furnish the best means of comparison with the Greek and Latin. I have kept the spelling of the German of 1530.

COVERDALE.

The wisest *among* his ladies answered *and said unto her Should* they *not find* and divide the spoil, *unto every man a fair* maid *or two for a prey, and party coloured garments of needle-work to* Sisera *for* a *spoil, party coloured garments of needle-work about* the neck *for* a prey?

GREAT BIBLE (1539, 1540, 1541).

The mother of Sisera looked out at a window and cried through the lattice. Why is his chariot so long *a coming?* Why tarry the wheels of his *carts?*

All the wise ladies answered her, yea and *her own words answered herself: Surely* they have found, they divide the spoils. *Every man hath a damsel* or two. *Sisera hath a prey* of divers coloured garments, *even a prey of raiment dyed with sundry colours, and that are made* of needle-work raiment of divers colours and of needle-work, *which is meet for him that is chief in distributing of the spoils.*

ZURICH VERSIO

Die weysest vnder frawen antwurtet, vnnd zu jr: Sollend sy nit vnd auszteilen den ra yeglichen mann eyn mätzen oder zwo zur a vnd Sissera bundte g kleyder zur auszbeüt, g bundte kleyder vmb d zur auszbeüt.

MÜNSTER.

Per fenestram pros vociferata est mater per cancellos inquam moratur currus ejus ut quid morantur quadrigarum ejus? S quæque dominæ re bant illi, quin et i ipsi reddebat verba. invenerunt, dividunt est puella vel duæ pue libet viro: habet Sis dam vestium colo prædam inquam vesti tinctarum colore et pictæ sunt: vestem dis et acu pictam, quæ pri petit in spoliorum tione.

e collation of a longer passage gives an exactly result. The fifty-first Psalm has no especial ty, but Coverdale (Matthew) and the Great Bible n the following places. Every change it will be an be traced to Münster, except one which is d as coming from the Latin Vulgate[1].

goodness Coverdale.
great' goodness Great Bible.
'according unto thy *great*... C.
ording unto the *multitude* of... G. B.
ndum *multitudinem*... Münster.
me *well* C.
me *thoroughly* G. B.
plurimum M.
ist thee only, against thee... C.
ist thee only G. B.: M.
C.
evil G. B.
im *hoc* M.
hy *sayings* C.
y *saying* G. B.
rmone tuo M.
ldest *overcome* C.
htest be] *clear* G. B.
s] *purus* M.
hast a pleasure in the truth and *shewest* me *secret* wisdom C.
requirest truth *in the inward parts* and *shalt make me to understand* wisdom *secretly*. G. B.
atem *exigis in interioribus* et *in occulto* sapientiam *me scire facies* M.
concile me with... C.

initials are used for the different Bibles after the first quotation.

[O *purge* me with... (Matt.)]
thou shalt purge me with... G. B.
expiabis me M.
— *wash thou* me C.
Thou shalt wash me G. B.
lavabis me M.
8 *O let* me hear... C.
Thou shalt make me hear... G. B.
facies me audire... M.
13 that sinners may be converted... C.
and sinners *shall* be converted... G. B.
et peccatores ad te *convertentur*... M.
14 *that* my tongue *may praise*... C.
and my tongue *shall sing of*... G. B.
et cantabit lingua mea... M.
15 *Open* C.
Thou shalt open... G. B.
aperies M.
— *that* my mouth *may*... C.
my mouth *shall*... G. B.
os meum *annunciabit*... M.
16 *if* thou *hadst pleasure* in... *I would*... C.
thou *desirest no*... *else* would I... G. B.
non desideras... *alioquin* darem... M.
18 *that* the walls of Jerusalem *may be builded.* C
Build thou the walls of Jerusalem. G. B.
Ædifica muros J. M.
19 *For then* shalt... C.
then shalt... G. B.
tunc acceptabis... M.
— lay bullocks... C.
offer young bullocks. G. B.
offerent juvencos. M.

A complete collation of two other Psalms (xi

s an equally complete coincidence of all the changes)duced into the Great Bible with Münster's render-

. It will be enough to quote one or two of the e remarkable:

6 there *may no man hide himself* from the heat thereof. C.

there *is nothing hid* from the heat thereof. G. B.

nihil est quod absconditur a calore ejus. M.

7 The law of the Lord is a *perfect* law: *it quickeneth* the soul: the testimony...is *true* and giveth wisdom *even* unto *babes.* C.

The law of the Lord is an *undefiled* law, *converting* the soul: the testimony... is *sure* and giveth wisdom unto *the simple.* G. B.

Lex domini *immaculata, convertens* animam: testimonium domini *firmum,* sapienter erudiens *simplicem.* M.

4 for I would fain go hence with... and pass over with them unto... C.

for I went with... and brought them forth unto... G. B.

quippe qui transibam ... diducens eos usque ad... M.

8 therefore I remember the land of Jordan. C.

therefore *will* I remember thee *concerning* the land of Jordan. G. B.

idcirco *recordabor* tui *de* terra Jordanis... M.[1]

:5 I will yet thank him *for the help of his* countenance and *because...* C.

I will yet thank him *which is the help of my* countenance and my... G. B.

confitebor ei *qui est salus* vultus *mei* et deus meus.

[1] Here the preposition *de* of Münster has been wrongly rendered.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

In all the passages which have been hitherto quoted the text of the three typical editions of the Great Bible—Crumwell's, April 1539, Cranmer's April 1540, Tunstall's and Heath's, Nov. 1540—is with one exception (or at most two) exactly identical[1]. But this is not the case in all the parts of the Bible.

The Prophets revised again before 1540.

In the Prophets the revision was less complete in the first (Crumwell's) edition, and Coverdale appears to have gone again carefully through this part of his work at least before the publication of the second (Cranmer's) edition. It is possible that the unsettled prospect of affairs in Paris may have induced him to hurry the printing of the book; or, which is not less likely, the greater difficulty of the Prophets may have hindered him from dealing satisfactorily with them on the first collation. However this may be, the text of Cranmer's Bible presents a second revision of the original Coverdale (Matthew), and that again made by a more thorough use of Münster. A single chapter of Isaiah will shew the relation of the two revisions to one another, to the original rendering (Coverdale) and to Münster. The German (Zurich) quotations determine the source of the first translation[2].

[1] The variations which I have observed are Ps. xlii. 12 *add.* as with a sword (Nov. 1540 omit, May 1541) from Münster; and Ps. xix. 10 than *honeycomb* and the *honey* (Nov. 1540; as before, May 1541), probably a printer's blunder.

In all the references to the Great Bibles I have availed myself of Mr F. Fry's exhaustive identification of every sheet of the different editions in his *Description of the Great Bible of* 1539 &c. London, 1865.

[2] I have added also for comparison the renderings of Pagninus, that it may be clear that the translation is from Münster and not independently from the Hebrew.

The italics mark the words which were altered. The second English rendering is that of the Great Bible of 1539.

COVERDALE (MATTHEW).

Is. liii.

1 But who *giveth credence* unto *our preaching?* Or to whom is the arm of the Lord known? 2 *He shall grow* before the Lord like as a branch, and as a root in a dry ground. *He shall have* neither beauty nor favour. When *we look* upon him there shall be no fairness: we shall have no lust unto him. 3 *He shall be the most simple and despised of all, which yet hath* good experience of sorrows and infirmities. *We shall reckon him so simple and so* vile that we *shall hide* our faces from him. 4 Howbeit (*of a truth*) he only *taketh away* our infirmity and *beareth our pain:* yet we *shall* judge him as though he were plagued and cast down *of God:* 5 Whereas he (notwithstanding) *shall be* wounded for our offences and smitten for our wickedness. For the *pain of our punishment shall be laid* upon him, and with his stripes *shall we be* healed. 6 As for us we *go all* astray like sheep, every one *turneth* his own way. But through him the Lord *pardoneth* all our sins. 7 He *shall be pained and troubled and shall not open* his mouth. He shall be led as a sheep to be slain, yet shall he be as still as a lamb before the shearer, and not open his mouth. 8 He *shall be had away,* his cause not heard, and without any judgment; whose generation yet *no man may* number, *when he shall be cut* off from the ground of the living: which punishment *shall* go upon him for the transgression of *my people.* 9 His grave *shall be* given him with the condemned and *his crucifying with the thieves,* whereas he did never violence nor unright, neither hath there been any deceitfulness in his mouth. 10 Yet hath it pleased the Lord *to smite him* with infirmity that when he had made his soul an

Chap. iii. Internal History.

offering for sin he might see *a long-lasting seed.* And this device of the Lord shall prosper in his hand. 11 With travail and labour of his soul shall he obtain *great riches.* My righteous servant shall with *his wisdom* justify and deliver the multitude, for he shall bear away their sins. 12 Therefore will I give him the multitude for his part, and he shall divide the strong spoil, because he *shall give* over his soul to death and *shall be* reckoned among the transgressors which nevertheless *shall take* away the sins of the multitude and *make* intercession for the misdoers.

1 *giveth credence.*
glaubt Zurich.
hath given credence 1539.
credidit Münster (Pagninus).
our preaching 1539. *vnserem predigen Z. the thing we have heard* Apr. Nov. 1540. *auditui nostro* M.

2 *He shall grow.*
er wirdt...wachsen Z.
For he did grow.
ascendit enim M. (et ascendit P.)

2 He *shall have* n.
er *wirt...haben* Z.
he *hath* n.
non *est ei* M. (P).

— we *look* 1539 we *shall look* Apr. Nov. 1540 *videbimus* M.

3 He shall be the most...yet hath...
er wirt der aller schlächtest vnd verachtest, der doch die schmertzen vnnd kranckheytenn wol kennet Z.
He *is despised and abhorred of men*, he is such a man as hath...

Despectus est et devitatus ab hominibus M. (despectus est et abjectus inter viros. (P.)

3 as hath good experience of sorrows and infirmities 1539 (Z. see before).

as is full of sorrow and as hath good experience of infirmities. Apr. Nov. 1540.

homo est doloribus (plenus) et qui expertus est infirmitatem. M.

– *we shall*...and so vile...*shall hide.*

wir werdend jn ... vnnd verworffenn rechnen, das wir...verbergen werdend Z.

we *have reckoned* him so vile that we *hid*...

from him 1539 von jm Z.

from him: †yea he was despised and therefore we regarded him not Apr. Nov. 1540.

(et quisque erat) quasi abscondens faciem ab eo: *fuit enim contemptus, ideo non reputavimus eum* M. (despectus et non rep. eum P.)

omit *of a truth.*

4 *taketh away.*

hinnimpt Z.

hath taken on him.

ipse portavit M. (ipse tulit P.)

infirmity: *infirmities* May 1541.

– and *beareth our pain*

vnnd vnsere schmertzen tregt Z.

and *borne our pains.*

et *dolores sustinuit* M. (et dolores nostros portavit P.)

– *shall* judge.

so rechnend wir Z.

did judge.

reputavimus M. (P).

– of God 1539 als ob er von Gott geschlagen *vnnd genideret sey* Z.

of God *and punished* Apr. Nov. 1540.
percussum a Deo *et afflictum* M. (p. a Dec *humiliatum* P.)
5 *shall be* wounded.
verwundt...wirt Z.
was wounded.
vulneratus est M. (P.)
— pain of our punishment 1539 die busz vns straaff Z.
chastisement of our peace Apr. Nov. 1540.
castigatio pacis nostræ M. (castigatio *pro nostra* P.)
— *shall be* laid.
wirt jm auffgelegt Z.
was laid
fuit...super... M. (P.)
— *shall we be* healed.
werdend wir gesund Z.
are we healed.
medicatum est nobis M. (sanitas fuit nobis P.)
6 we *go* all.
wir alle *irrend* Z.
we *have gone* all.
erravimus omnes M. (erravimus P.)
— *turneth.*
kert Z.
hath turned.
respeximus M. (conversi sumus P.)
— *pardoneth.*
begnadet Z.
hath pardoned (M. see below).
— But through him the Lord hath pardoned all sins 1539.
aber der Herr begnadet mit jm unser aller sünd

But *the Lord hath heaped together upon him the iniquity of us all* Apr. Nov. 1540
et *dominus fecit concurrere in eo omnium nostrum iniquitates* M. (dominus pervenire fecit ad eum pœnam omnium nostrum P.)

7 he shall be pained...not open.
er wirt geengstiget vnd verkümmeret und wirdt...nit auffthun Z.
he *suffered violence* and *was evil intreated* and *did* not *yet* open...
vim est passus et *inique tractatus* et *tamen* non aperuit... M. (oppressus est et afflictus est et non *aperiet* P.)

8 he *shall be* had away.
er wirt vnuerhörter sach vnd onrecht abgethon, des geschlächt doch niemandt erzellen mag Z.
he *was* had away.
sublatus est M.

– had away 1539 (see above.)
had away *from prison* Apr. Nov. 1540
de carcere et de judicio sublatus est M. (de *clausura*... P.)

– *no man* may number.
Z. see above.
who may number?
quis enarrabit? M. (P.)

– *when he shall be* cut...
so er gleich... auszgehauwen wirt Z.
he was cut...
succisus est M.

– *shall* go.
gon wirt. Z.
did go (M. see below)

– my people 1539 meines volcks Z.

my people † which indeed had deserved that punishment Apr. Nov. 1540.
populi mei *quibus plaga* (*debebatur*) M. (Propter prævaricationem populi mei plaga fuit ei P.)

9 *shall be* given.
wirt...gegeben Z.
was given.
dedit M. (P.)

— *his crucifying with the thieves.*
sein creützigung mit den rauberenn Z.
with the rich man at his death.
apud divitem in mortibus ejus M. (cum divite inter mortuos suos P.)

10 the Lord to smite 1539 so hat der Herr jnn wollen mit der schweche vmbringenn Z.
the Lord *thus to bruste* (*burste* Nov.) *him with plagues and* to smite Apr. Nov. 1540.
Domino eum *sic conterere et infirmitatem inferre* M. (Dominus voluit conterere eum, ægrotare fecit. P.)

— *a* long lasting.
einen langwirigen somen Z.
longlasting.
quod longas viveret dies M. (prolongabit dies P.)

11 obtain *great riches* 1539 wirt er grossè hab überkommen Z.
obtain *fruit and he shall be satisfied* Apr. Nov. 1540
videbit (*fructum*) *et saturabitur* M.

— *his wisdom.*
mit *seiner kunst* Z.
wisdom
my righteous ... multitude 1539 Mein grechter knecht wirt mit seiner kunst die menge grecht machen vnd erlösen. Z.

11 *by the knowledge of him which is my righteous servant he shall justify* the multitude Apr. Nov. 1540.
cognitione sui qui justus servus meus est justificabit multos. M.

12 the strong spoil 1539 den starcken raub Z.
the spoil *with the strongest* Apr. Nov. 1540
cum robustissimis dividet spolia M.

— *shall give*
vergiessen...wirt Z.
giveth
effudit M. (P.)

— *shall be* reckoned
gezellet wirt Z.
is reckoned
numeratus est M. (P.)

— *shall take* away...*make*
hinnemmen...wirt Z.
hath taken away...*made*
tulit M. (P.)

General results.

From these collations the general character of the versions of the Old Testament in the first two editions of the Great Bible will be sufficiently clear, though a fuller examination would probably bring out some details of the method of revision into more distinct prominence. The variations from the first edition (Crumwell's 1539) in the second (Cranmer's, April 1540) are far greater in the Hagiographa and the Prophets—the part of Matthew's Bible which was Coverdale's own work—than those in the earlier books; and the variations of the text of 1539 from that of Matthew (1537) are more important throughout than the changes introduced afterwards[1]. In other words the edition of April 1540 ex-

[1] By some incredible inadvertence Mr Anderson describes Crumwell's edition of April 1539 and the London Bible as having Matthew's text. The

Chap. iii. Internal History.

hibits a text formed on the same principles as that of the edition of 1539, but after a fuller and more thorough revision[1].

vision of ition of v. 1540.

After April 1540 the text of the Great Bible does not appear to have been systematically revised throughout, but still it is a remarkable and unobserved fact that in parts the edition of Nov. 1540 goes back from the text of April 1540 to that of 1539, so that the edition of April 1540 exhibits the greatest approximation to Münster. It is impossible to tell without a wide collation on what principle this reaction was carried out: a few examples will exhibit its reality[2].

April 1539; Nov. 1540; May, Nov. 1541.	April, July 1540.
. *i.* Is. i. 2, *brought up* children.	*promoted* children.
— 4, a *froward generation, unnatural children.*	a *seed of ungracious people corrupting their ways.*

reprint of April 1540 (Petyt and Redman) are both carefully revised texts, as has been shewn already. The latter presents some variations from Crumwell's Bible, but they appear to be due rather to the printers than to any special revision: e.g. Ps. li. 14: O God, *O God* of my health: *sing thy* righteousness. 15 shew *forth*.

[1] This revision, as well as the partial one to be mentioned afterwards, was due to Coverdale, as appears from his Sermon quoted by Fulke (p. 98). 'M. Coverdale defended his 'translation, confessing that he did 'now himself espy some faults which 'if he might review it once over 'again, as he had done *twice* before, 'he doubted not but to amend.' This statement can only apply to Crumwell's and Cranmer's Bibles. The changes in the *one* revision of Coverdale's original Bible are not of sufficient importance to be thus described. Another passage of Fulke is itself decisive: 'the Bible of 1562,' he writes, 'is that which was of Dr 'Coverdale's translation, most used 'in the church service in king Ed- 'ward's time' (p. 68). This edition is a reprint of the Great Bible.

The rendering in Is. lvii. 5, 'ye 'take your pleasure under the oaks, 'under all green trees, and ye offer 'children in the valleys and dens of 'stone,' quoted in the *Hist. Account*, p. 103, to shew the existence of an independent revision in Heath's and Tunstall's edition of 1541 is found in Cranmer's (April 1540), and is of course based on Münster: 'calefaci- 'tis vos apud quercus sub omni ligno 'frondoso et immolatis pueros...'

[2] At first I was inclined to think that mixed sheets had been used for printer's copy in the later editions, but this hypothesis will not cover all the facts of the case.

PRIL 1539; Nov. 1540; MAY, NOV. 1541.	APRIL, JULY 1540.
i. 7, as *it were with enemies in a battle.*	as *they were subverted that are alienate from the Lord.*
- 8, like a *besieged* city.	like a *wasted* city.
sacrifices unto me.	sacrifices unto me *saith the Lord.*
- 12, when ye appear before me.	when ye *come to* appear before me.
- — who requireth you to tread.	who requireth *this of* you to tread.
- 13, offer me no more oblations.	*therefore* offer me no more oblations.
- — your sabbaths and solemn days.	your sabbaths and *gathering together at the* solemn days.
- 14, *Your fastings are also in vain. I hate your new holy days and fastings, even from my very heart. They make me weary, I cannot abide them.*	*I hate your new moon days and solemn feasts even from my very heart. I can not away with such vanity and holding in of the people. They lie upon me as a burden and I am weary of bearing them*[1].
h. vi. 2, *come* that we may.	that we may.

In other parts of the Old Testament this phenonon is not observed, and the different editions are ıuped together without any certain law. Thus, for ımple, the following readings occur:

ıv. xii. 13, of peril. April 1540.	of *all* peril. Nov. 1540. May, Nov. 1541.

In the first three chapters of ıh I have noted twenty other pass in which the same groups re-tively agree in supporting dif-ıt readings; and only five in which the November editions differ from 1539. In other parts of the book, as has been seen, the edition of Nov. 1540 follows closely that of April 1540. See pp. 194 ff.

ıp. iii. ernal ıtory.

Jer. iv. 7, *he* may.	*I* may.
1539.	Nov. 1540.
April 1540.	
May 1541.	
Nov. 1541, 1553.	
— 13, *down.*	*up.*
1539.	July, Nov. 1540
April 1540.	
May 1541, 1553.	
— 28, *purposed and* taken upon me.	taken upon me.
April 1540.	July, Nov. 1540.
May 1541, 1553.	Nov. 1541.

Vew ment. ed y by atin.

The revision of the New Testament was, like C dale's original revision of Tyndale, more indepen and based upon a careful use of the Vulgate an Erasmus' Latin Version. An analysis of the variat in the first Epistle of St John may furnish a type o general character. As nearly as I can reckon there seventy-one differences between Tyndale's text (1 and that of the Great Bible[1]: of these forty-three c directly from Coverdale's earlier revision (and in a g measure indirectly from the Latin): seventeen from Vulgate where Coverdale before had not followed the remaining eleven variations are from other sou

f the ıte.

Some of the new readings from the Vulgate are portant, as for example the additions in i. 4, 'tha '*may rejoice and that* your joy may be full.' ii. 23 '*that knowledgeth the Son hath the Father also.*' i 'that we should be called *and be indeed* the sons of (v. 9, 'this is the witness of God *that is greater.*'

[1] The differences between the Great Bible and Matthew are about twelve fewer (see p. 184, n. 1), but I ha a complete table of them.

ese additions (like v. 7) are marked distinctly as *Latin* adings[1]: of the renderings adopted from Coverdale ıe is very important and holds its place in our present ːrsion. iii. 24, '*Hereby* we know that *he* abideth in us, *ven by* the Spirit which he *hath given* us,' for which yndale reads: '*thereby* we know that *there* abideth in ıs *of* the Spirit which he *gave* us.' One strange blun- ɐr also is corrected; 'that old commandment which ye *heard*' (as it was in the earlier texts) is replaced by ıe true reading: 'that old commandment which ye ıave *had*' (ii. 7). No one of the new renderings is of ıy moment (ii. 8, 18, 19, 20, 22, &c.).

Use of the version of Erasmus.

As an illustration of the influence of Erasmus we ay recur to the collation of his differences from Tyn- le in Col. ii.[2] In the following readings, nearly half those noted, the text of the Great Bible is altered ım that of Tyndale (Matthew) to conformity with asmus: '1 *for* I would: *how great care:* 2 *when* they ·e knit together: 6 walk...*so that* ye be rooted and uilt in him: 11 *forasmuch* as ye have put off: 13 *trough* sin and *through*...16 *or* of the new moon: 17 hich are shadows: 23 *by superstition and humbleness f mind, and by hurting of the body*...' Some of these ıderings might have been derived independently from ɜ Greek or from the Vulgate; others could not, as ɜ must believe, have occurred to two original inter- eters; and when they are taken as a whole there can no doubt as to their immediate source[3].

[1] One false rendering introduced ɔ this version from the Latin has st unfortunately retained its place our present Bible; 'there shall be ıe *fold* and one shepherd' (John x. ', for 'one *flock*' of the earlier nslators. The old Latin rightly tinguished between *grex* and *ovile*, but the distinction was lost in the later texts.

[2] See pp. 141 f.

[3] One or two other passages may be added in which the Great Bible certainly follows Erasmus:

Luke xix. 42...even in this thy day, *thou wouldest take heed* (Erasm. *curares*).

Chap. iii. Internal History.

The New Testament also revised in 1540.

Greater use of Erasmus.

The New Testament in the Great Bible of 15 subject to a revision before the edition of 1540 n than the Old, and the revision was conducted on s principles. What Münster was for the Old Test Erasmus was in a great measure for the New. powerful his influence was in the original recensi been just seen, and the review shews additional of the sway which his judgment exercised over dale. One or two examples may be quoted[1]:

APRIL 1539.	APRIL, Nov. 154
Rom. v. 15, which...was given by one man...	which...was of one ma fuit unius hominis, *I*
— i. 25, which is blessed for ever.	which is to be praised f (qui est laudandus i la, *Er.*)
Phil. i. 23, is much better.	is much and far better longeque melius est,
Rev. xvi. 9, repented not.	repented not of their ev (neque egerunt s pœnitentiam, *Er.*)
— xxii. 6, the Lord God of Saints and Prophets.	the Lord God of th Prophets (Dominu sanctorum propl *Er.*)

No change perhaps is more remarkable tha in the difficult and famous passage of St James[2]:

1 Pet. j. 14...lusts *by which ye were led when as yet ye were* ignorant of Christ (Erasm. *quibus dum adhuc ignoraretis Christum agebamini*).

Col. i. 10...*that* in all things *ye may* please (Erasm. *ut* per omnia *placeatis*).

Col. iii. 9...*seeing that* ye have put off (Erasm. *posteaquam* exuistis). The Latin New Testament of Erasmus was printed with the English of Matthew in 1538. The Engli ment of 1540, said to be Latin of Erasmus, I have n

[1] Nearly all the examp are taken from the list of in Mr Fry's treatise on t Bibles. By using these for t sis all suspicion of partial s removed.

[2] See Fulke, *Defence of th Translations*, pp. 559 f. (ed

April 1539.	May, Nov. 1540.
. 13. For God cannot t unto evil, because he teth no man.	For as God cannot be tempted with evil, so neither he himself tempt the [tempteth] any man. (*Nam Deus ut malis tentari non potest, ita nec ipse quemquam tentat. Er.*)

other cases the revision follows the Vulgate (with us) where the original text had deserted it, as mple:

Of the Vulgate.

April 1539.	April, Nov. 1540.
v. 25, for to justify us.	for our justification.
10, Do I now speak men or unto God? er go I about to please	Do I now persuade men or God? Either do I seek to please...
. 12, and had no hope were without...	having no hope and being without...

metimes the turn given to the rendering appears original, as

. 6, that are called of...	the elect of...
10, as hurt no man's cience.	as offend no man.

t next to Erasmus the Complutensian edition buted most largely to the changes in the revision. in the Revelation the following new readings are from this source:

Of the Complutensian Polyglott.

April 1539.	April, Nov. 1540.
mit (1).	(*and the earth and the things that therein are*).
for evermore (2).	for evermore (*Amen*).
the stars (3).	the stars (*of heaven*).

Chap. iii. Internal History.

APRIL 1539.	APRIL, NOV. 1540.
xii. 9, also (4).	also (*with him*).
— 10, For *he* is (5).	For (*the accuser of our brethren* is
xv. 2, *and of his mark* (6).	omit.
xviii. 12, iron (7).	iron (*and marble*).
— 23, omit (8).	(*and candle light shall be no more burning in the*)
xxi. 16, measured the city with the reed (9).	measured the city with the (*golden*) reed.
xxii. 9, the sayings of this book (10).	the sayings of (*the prophecy of*) this book[1].

The Psalter of the Prayer Book taken from the Great Bible.

In one respect the Great Bible has an important and lasting interest for us: the Psalter which is incorporated in the Prayer Book is taken from it. In the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. reference is made 'to the Great English Bible' for the numbers of the Psalms as appointed to be read in the daily services which were necessarily taken from it, and from that time the Psalter used in churches has continued unchanged. No attempt seems to have been made to substitute the Psalter of the Bishops' Bible for that of the Great Bible; and when, upon the last revision of the Prayer Book (1662), it was directed that the other lessons from Scripture should be taken from the royal Version, a special exception was made in favour of the Psalter. The choirs and congregations had grown familiar with it, and it was felt to be 'smoother and more easy to sing[2].'

[1] This list includes only a few very obvious differences, and makes no pretensions to completeness even in the chapters quoted. It is remarkable that all the readings are marked as Latin readings, though 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 are in the Greek text.

Mr Offor has collected all the 'interpolations' (Latin readings) found in the Great Bibles in his MS. collections for the history of the Bible (Brit. Mus. *Add.* 26, 670, pp. 209 ff.).

For a fuller comparison of renderings of the New Testament in the different editions of the Great Bible, see Note A at the end of the Section.

[2] The exception was not made without an effort. The bishops conceded 'that the Psalms be collated with the 'former translation mentioned in

Chap. iii. Internal History.

Characteristics of the Psalter.

A very slight comparison of the Psalter in the Prayer Book with that in the Bible will shew from what this acknowledged smoothness springs. Apart from the partial correction of errors in translation, the later version will be seen to be distinguished from the earlier by a scrupulous fidelity to the Hebrew text. Coverdale, like Luther and the Zurich translators on whose model his style was formed, allowed himself considerable freedom in dealing with the shape of the original sentences. At one time a word is repeated to bring out the balance of two clauses: at another time the number is changed: at another time a fuller phrase is supplied for the simple copula, now a word is resolved, and again a particle or an adverb or a pronoun or even an epithet is introduced for the sake of definiteness: there is in every part an endeavour to transfuse the spirit as well as the letter into the English rendering. The execution of the version undoubtedly falls far below the conception of it: the Authorised Version is almost in every case more correct: but still in idea and tone Coverdale's is as a whole superior, and furnishes a noble type for any future revision.

Comparison of the two Psalters.

One or two examples will illustrate these general remarks. The materials for extending the comparison are accessible to all, and nothing throws more light on the actual history of our Bible[1].

rubr. [? Great Bible], and printed according to it' (Cardwell, *Hist. of Conf.* 362). The question was again raised in 1689, and it was left to the Convocation to decide whether the Authorised Version should be inserted in the Prayer Book or the revision made by the Bishop of St Asaph and Dr Kidder' (*id.* 432).

[1] I have not ascertained from what text of the Great Bible the Psalter was taken. It contains the latest changes which I have noticed. See p. 189 ff. For a collation of passages from the Prayer-Book Psalter with the editions of the Great Bible, see Note B at the end of the Section.

One general change in the Prayer-Book Psalter is very greatly to be regretted, and was probably only an oversight. The insertions from the Vulgate (e.g. Ps. xiv. 5—7, &c.), which

Chap. iii. Internal History.

Ps. xix.

	PRAYER BOOK.	AUTHORISED VERSI(
1	The heavens declare the glory of God : and the firmament sheweth his handywork.	The heavens declare th of God : and the firm sheweth his handywo
2	*One* day *telleth another :* and *one* night *certifieth another.*	*Day unto* day *uttereth* and night *unto night s knowledge.*
3	There is *neither* speech nor language : *but* their *voices are* heard *among them.*	There is *no* speech n guage : *where* their not heard.
4	Their *sound* is gone out[1] *into* all *lands :* and their words *into* the *ends* of the world.	Their *line* is gone out *t* all *the earth:* and their words *to* t of the world.
5	In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun : which *cometh forth* as a bridegroom out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a *giant* to run *his course.*	In them hath he set a nacle for the sun : which *is* as a bride *coming* out of his cha and rejoiceth as a *man* to run *a race.*
6	*It goeth* forth from the *uttermost part* of the heaven, and *runneth about* unto the *end* of it *again :* and there is nothing hid from the heat thereof.	*His going* forth *is* fro *end* of the heaven, a *circuit* unto the *ends* and there is nothi from the heat thereo
7	The law of the Lord is *an undefiled law,* converting the soul : the testimony of the Lord	The law of the Lord is converting the soul : the testimony of th

were distinguished from the other parts of the translation in the Great Bible, stand unmarked in the Prayer-Book. Would it not be legitimate to print the Prayer-Book Psa all these insertions in Italics

[1] Om. *out* Nov. 1540.

is sure, *and giveth wisdom unto* the simple.

3 The statutes of the Lord are right, *and rejoice* the heart:
the commandment of the Lord is pure, *and giveth light unto* the eyes.

9 The fear of the Lord is clean, *and endureth* for ever:
the judgments of the Lord are true, and righteous altogether.

10 More to be desired are they than gold, yea than much fine gold:
sweeter also than honey and the honey-comb[1].

11 Moreover by them is thy servant *taught:*
and in keeping of them there is great reward.

12 Who can *tell how oft he offendeth:*
O cleanse thou me from *my* secret faults.

13 Keep thy servant also from presumptuous sins, *lest they get the* dominion over me:
so shall I be *undefiled* and innocent from the great *offence.*

14 Let the words of my mouth

is sure, *making wise* the simple.

The statutes of the Lord are right, *rejoicing* the heart:
the commandment of the Lord is pure, *enlightening* the eyes.

The fear of the Lord is clean, *enduring* for ever:
the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.

More to be desired are they than gold, yea than much fine gold:
sweeter also than honey and the honey-comb.

Moreover by them is thy servant *warned:*
and in keeping of them there is great reward.

Who can *understand his errors?*
cleanse thou me from secret faults.

Keep *back* thy servant also from presumptuous sins; *let them not have* dominion over me:
Then shall I be *upright*, and *I shall be* innocent from the great *transgression.*

Let the words of my mouth,

[1] The honey-comb and the honey. Nov. 1540, 1541.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

	and the meditation of my heart: be *alway* acceptable in thy sight,	and the meditation heart: be acceptable in thy s
	15 O Lord, my strength and my redeemer.	O Lord, my strength a redeemer.
Ps. ii.	1 Why do the heathen *so furiously* rage *together:* and *why do* the people imagine a vain thing?	Why do the heathen rage the people imagine thing?
	10 Be wise now therefore, O ye kings: be *learned*, ye *that are* judges of the earth.	Be wise now therefore, kings: be *instructed*, ye jud the earth.
	11 Serve the Lord *in* fear: and rejoice *unto him* with *reverence.*	Serve the Lord *with* fea rejoice with *trembling*
	12 Kiss the son, lest he be angry, and *so* ye perish from the *right* way: *if* his wrath *be* kindled, (*yea*, but a little) blessed are all they that put their trust in him.	Kiss the son, lest he be and ye perish from the *when* his wrath *is* ki but a little. Blessed they that put their tr him.
Ps. lxxviii.	16 He clave the *hard* rocks in the wilderness: and gave them drink *thereof*, as *it had been* out of the great *depth.*	He clave the rocks in th derness: and gave them drink of the great *depths.*
	17 He brought *waters* out of the *stony* rock: *so that it gushed out* like *the* rivers.	He brought *streams* als of the rock: *and caused waters t down* like rivers.
	18 *Yet for all this* they sinned more against him: *and pro-*	*And* they sinned *yet* against him:

the most *Highest* in ilderness.

Books are arranged in the order in Crumwell's Bible 39):
entateuch.
econd part of the Bible:
a...Esther, Job.
ird part of the Bible: The ter.... Cantica Canticorum.
Prophets: Esay...Malachy.
olume of the books called iographa: 3 Esdr. 4 Esdr. ruch...1 Mach. 2 Mach.
ew Testament:
four Gospels. Acts.
Epistles of Saint Paul:
omans..... Philemon, Hebrews.
Epistle of St James.
1, 2 St Peter.
1, 2, 3 St John.
St Jude.
The Revelation.

In the list (but not in the text) Jude is placed before 1 John.

The order is the same in Cranmer's Bible (April 1540), and in Tunstall's and Heath's (Nov. 1540); but in Tunstall and Heath the Preface to the Apocrypha is left out, and the reverse of the title-page to that division of the book is consequently blank.

by provoking the most *High* in the wilderness[1].

Note A.

following comparison of in representative editions of : Bible has been based upon most liberally placed in by Mr F. Fry. The table rate the extent of intentional and accidental variation. The notation is as follows:

1539	C
1540 April	Cr_1
1540 Nov.	TH_1
1541 Dec.	Cr_4

ST MATTHEW.

garment of	C	*raiment* of	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
of *the* divorcement	C Cr_1	of divorcement	TH_1
like *unto* one	C	like one	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
for *to* morrow *day*	C	for *the* morrow *day* (omit *day* Cr_4)	Cr_1 TH_1
by their *fruits*	C Cr_1 Cr_4	their *works*	TH_1
turned him *about*	C Cr_1 Cr_4	turned him	TH_1
they *say* (15, 33; 19, 10; 22. 42	C Cr_1	they *said*	TH_1 Cr_4
of *the* house	C	of *that* house	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
in the temple	C Cr_1 Cr_4	*of* the temple	TH_1
that son (14, 35	C Cr_1 Cr_4	*the* son	TH_1
then appeared	C	*there* appeared	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
of all seeds	C Cr_1 Cr_4	all *the* seeds	TH_1
buried it & went	C	buried it went	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
do ye *also* transgress (16, 18	C Cr_1 Cr_4	do ye transgress	TH_1
in *at* the	C Cr_1	*into* the	TH_1 Cr_4
John Baptist	C Cr_1 Cr_4	John *the* Baptist	TH_1
in *your* eyes	C Cr_1 Cr_4	in *our* eyes	TH_1
that *day* forth	C Cr_1 Cr_4	that *time* forth	TH_1
his *branch*	C	his *branches*	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
have *the* poor	C Cr_1 Cr_4	have poor	TH_1
in sleep	C	in *my* sleep	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4

ACTS.

i.	19	*blood* field	C Cr_1 Cr_4	*bloody* field	TH_1
ii.	18	they shall prophesy	C Cr_1 Cr_4	they shall *all* prophesy	TH_1
iv.	30	so *that* thou	C Cr_1	so *shalt* thou	TH_1 Cr_4
v.	2	laid it *down* at	C Cr_1 Cr_4	laid it at	TH_1
xii.	23	*but* immediately	C	*and* immediately	Cr_1 TH_1
xiii.	33	in the *first* psalm	C Cr_1	in the *second* psalm	TH_1 Cr_4
xiv.	15	that ye *should*	C Cr_1 Cr_4	that ye *shall*	TH_1
xv.	31	rejoiced *of* the	C Cr_1 Cr_4	rejoiced *at* the	TH_1
xvi.	10	called us *for* to	C Cr_1 Cr_4	called us to	TH_1
xx.	9	into a *deep* sleep	C Cr_1 Cr_4	into a *dead* sleep	TH_1
xxvi.	18	may *turn*	C	may *be turned*	Cr_1 TH_1
xxvii.	2	*being* with	C	*tarrying still* with	Cr_1 TH_1
xxviii.	2	the *people of the country*	C	the *strangers*	Cr_1 TH_1
—	4	*must needs be*	C	*is*	Cr_1 TH_1

ROMANS.

i.	6	*that are called*	C	*the elect*	Cr_1 TH_1
—	7	*called* saints	C	saints *by election*	Cr_1 TH_1
—	25	*turned* his truth *into*	C	*changed* his truth *for*	Cr_1 TH_1
—	—	is *blessed*	C	is *to be praised*	Cr_1 TH_1
—	—	*doers of wrong*	C	*disdainful*	Cr_1 TH_1
iv.	—	*rose* again *for to justify us*	C	*was raised* again *for our justification*	Cr_1 TH
vi.	14	*let not* sin *have*	C	*for* sin *shall not have*	Cr_1 TH
—	20	ye were *not under*	C	ye were *void of*	Cr_1 TH
xiv.	1	receive *unto you* not	C	receive not	Cr_1 TH
xv.	6	Lord Jesus	C	Lord Jesus *Christ*	Cr_1 TH
xvi.	2	in *the Lord*	C	in *Christ*	Cr_1 TH
—	22	chamberlain	C	treasurer	Cr_1 TH

1 CORINTHIANS.

iii.	18	wise among you	C	wise to himself among you	Cr_1 TH
v.	13	God shall judge	C	God judgeth	Cr_1 TH
ix.	5	a sister to wife	C	a woman a sister	Cr_1 TH

2 CORINTHIANS.

i.	11	of many occasions	C	of many persons	Cr_1 TH
—	—	the grace given	C	the gift given	Cr_1 TH
iii.	15	their hearts	C Cr_1 Cr_4	their eyes	TH_1
vi.	3	in our office	C Cr_1 Cr_4	in your office	TH_1
vii.	15	is more abundant	C TH_1 Cr_4	is found abundant	Cr_1
ix.	6	soweth plenteously shall reap	C	soweth in giving largely and freely shall reap	Cr_1 TH
x.	2	same confidence	C	same boldness	Cr_1 TH
xi.	2	to make you a chaste	C	that ye should make yourselves a chaste	Cr_1 TH

ɜed	C	in necessities	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
ɪ I come	C Cr_4	if I come	Cr_1 TH_1
discord	C	and seditions	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
e yourselves	C	examine yourselves	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
ɪine your	C	prove your	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4

GALATIANS.

unto men or		persuade men or	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
o	C		
ɪbout to	C	do I seek to	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
ɪcerning to be		by way of subjec-	
ught into sub-		tion	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
ion	C		
God	C	unto Christ	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
d	C	died	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
wise	C	such fools	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
seeds	C Cr_1	in thy seeds	TH_1 Cr_4
be made right-		should be justified	
s by	C	by	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
ved on you	C Cr_1 Cr_4	bestowed in you	TH_1
ɪ in his flesh	C Cr_1 Cr_4	soweth in the flesh	TH_1

EPHESIANS.

ɪad...and were	C	having...and being	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
ɜnerations from time		all ages world with-	
ime	C	out end	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
ɪere be but one Lord	C	one Lord	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
ɪt that which is pleas-		searching what is	
unto	C	acceptable unto	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
ɜbuked of the light	C	are brought forth	
		by the light	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
ɪing occasion	C	winning occasion	Cr_1
		redeeming the time	TH_1 Cr_4
ɜear	C	wife reverence	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
urture	C	the doctrine	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
edient unto	C	obey	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
ɜnedly	C	sincerely	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4

PHILIPPIANS.

ɾt	C	as offend	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
of Christ	C Cr_4	given for X^t.	Cr_1 TH_1
lso in X^t.	C Cr_1	was in X^t.	TH_1 Cr_4
: belly is their		whose God is their	
l	C	belly	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4
both be low and		I know how to be	
ɪn be high	C	low and I know	
		how to exceed	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4

2 TIMOTHY.

ɜ work of	C	do the work tho-	
		roughly of	Cr_1 TH_1 Cr_4

		HEBREWS.		
iv.	10	ceased also from his	C	ceased from all his Cr_1 T
v.	8	by those things	C	as these things Cr_1 T
x.	22	hearts from an evil	C	hearts and the evil Cr_1 T
xi.	16	God is not	C	God Himself is not Cr_1 T
—	40	had provided a	C Cr_1	had promised a TH_1
xii.	9	of spiritual gifts	C	of spirits Cr_1 T
		JAMES.		
i.	13	God cannot tempt unto evil because he tempteth no man	C	as God cannot be tempted with evil so neither he himself tempteth any man Cr_1
v.	17	a man mortal	C	a man under infirmities Cr_1
		2 PETER.		
ii.	14	with covetousness	C	with robbery Cr_1
		1 JOHN.		
iv.	10	to make agreement	C	to be the agreement Cr_1
		JUDE.		
	12	feeding themselves	C	living lawless and after their own pleasure. Cr_1

Note B.

The following variations taken from ten Psalms collated in Cromwell (C), the Great Bible of April 1540 (Cr_1), of November 1541 (TH_2) and the Sealed Prayer Book of 1662, will illustrate the relation of the Prayer Book Psalter to th copies. The Prayer Book n serves the 'italics' of the Bil the collations on which thi founded I am again indebte kindness of Mr F. Fry.

Ps. i. 1 *stood* and *sat* (1662) for *stand* and *sit* in all the repre editions of the Great Bible, and the early Psalters
viii. 3 *works* TH_2 : *work* C Cr_1.
— 6 *of* the works TH_2 : *in* the works C Cr_1.
xxvii. 1 of whom Cr_1 TH_2 : *for* of whom C.
— 5 *hide* me and Cr_1 TH_2 : *keep* me and C.
— 7 *an* oblation *with great gladness* Cr_1 TH_2 : *the* ob *thanksgiving* C.
xxviii. 1 if thou make as though : if thou make *thee* as thou TH_2. [So Psalter bound with 4to P.B. of 1552 Libr. Cambridge.]
— — *hearest* not [so Psalter 1552] : *heardest* not C Cr_1 TH
— 9 is *my* strength [so Psalter 1552] : is *their* strength C (
xxxiv. 15 from the earth [so Bible 1553] : from *off* the earth C [so Psalter 1552].
xlvi. 2 *into* the midst [so Psalter 1552] : *in* the midst C Cr_1
— 4 *tabernacle* [so Psalter 1552] : *tabernacles* C Cr_1 TH_2.

— 8 *destruction* [so Psalter 1552] : *destructions* C Cr_1 TH_2.
— 11 *refuge* : *defence* C Cr_1 TH_2. So Psalter 1552.
lvii. 9 awake *up* my [so Psalter 1552] : awake *O* my C Cr_1 TH_2.
lxv. 5 in *thy* righteousness [so Psalter 1552] : in righteousness C Cr_1 TH_2.
xci. 1 most *high* [so Psalter 1552] : most *highest* C Cr_1 TH_2.
— 6 in darkness : in *the* darkness C Cr_1 TH_2 [so Psalter 1552].
cxl. 6 *I said* unto the Lord Cr_1 TH_2 : *But my saying is* unto the Lord C.
— 8 O Lord *let not his mischievous imaginations prosper* lest they be too proud Cr_1 TH_2 : O Lord *let him not have his purpose* lest they be too proud C
— 11 *evil shall hunt the* wicked person *to overthrow him* Cr_1 TH_2 : *a malicious and* wicked person *shall be hunted away and destroyed* C.

In no one of these examples is a ndering taken from Cromwell's ible (C). In one case (Ps. i. 1) an 'chaism seems to have been removed .1662. In ten places (xxviii. 1 (bis), ; xlvi. 2, 4, 8; lvii. 9; lxv. 5; xci. 6) changes have been introduced pparently) without any authority. ı xlvi. 11 a rendering has been lopted from the Genevan Bible. In e American Prayer Book Psalter ro other changes made (apparently))m the Genevan version have fallen ıder my notice: v. 6 *lies* (for *leasg*); lvi. 8 *wanderings* (for *flittings*). One of the most remarkable varia- ms in the Psalter was due to a under and has been (unauthorita- rely) corrected. In Ps. lxviii. 4 the Great Bible of April 1540 reads *in his name Ja and* with a ☞ in the margin to indicate a proposed note upon the sacred name. But in Nov. 1541 the curious misreading *in his name yea and* is found, and this corruption passed into the later editions of the Great Bible (*e.g.* 1553), from which the first Psalters were taken. The error was continued throughout the 17th century even in the Prayer-Book of 1662. I do not know when the true reading was first restored. The earliest Prayer Book in which I have noticed it is one printed at Oxford in 1703, while the error is found in an Oxford edition of 1698. In London editions the blunder was continued several years later (1709).

§ 5. TAVERNER.

Taverner's revision of the Old Testament superficial.

The work of Taverner is very different from that of ny of the revisers noticed before, and stamped with a ery distinct individuality. Its character might be anıcipated from the description of the man himself which as been already quoted[1]. Throughout he appears to im at vigorous and idiomatic language, and his New 'estament at least deserves more attention than has yet een paid to it. Probably he undertook this part of

[1] See supr. p. 85.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

the work, for which his scholarship fitted him, first, and only afterwards extended his labours to the Old Testament, for which he had no special aptitude. As far as I have observed he used no help but the Vulgate in the Old Testament, and this only partially[1]. But scarcely a page perhaps will fail to shew changes which are made for the sake of clearness and force. Thus '*the child* of death' becomes '*worthy* of death' (2 Sam. xii. 5): 'of 'mine own *mind*' is altered to 'of mine own *head*' (Num. xvi. 28): 'but *and* if' is made simply 'but if': 'like *as* a 'branch' simply 'like a branch', and so on. But in a passage like Is. liii. 1—5, where Coverdale is greatly at fault, he introduces no real change in the text before him[2].

His revision of the New Testament more important.

In the New Testament Taverner aims equally at compression and vividness, but he was familiar with the original, and therefore could deal more happily with the translation of Tyndale, which still, like Coverdale, he followed very closely. A few verses will shew the method which he followed. Thus in the beginning of St John's Gospel for '*the same*' he reads '*this*' (i. 2, 7), for to '*bear witness*' simply '*witness*' (7, 15); for Tyndale's '*verity*' he writes '*truth*' (14); for Tyndale's 'con-'fessed and denied not, and *said plainly*' he repeats the first word as in the Greek 'confessed and denied not 'and *confessed*' (20). Sometimes in his anxiety to keep to the Greek text he becomes even obscure or inaccurate, as '*all were* made by it' (3), 'to be made the sons of 'God *believing* on his name' (12), '*into* his own' (11), 'he 'was *first ere I was*' (15). But he introduced substantial improvements into the translation by his regard for the

[1] A good example occurs Josh. xxiv. 27, 'lest that after this time ye 'will deny and lie unto your God.'

[2] In Mr Offor's MS. collections for a history of the English Bible (Brit. Mus. 26,670—3) there is a collation of Tyndale's Pentateuch (1537, 1549) with Taverner (1539, 1551), Vol. II. pp. 153—158.

icle: 'that was *the* true light (*a* tr. l. *Tynd.*) which... ming into...' (9): 'Art thou *the* Prophet?' (21, 25): 'I n *a* voice of one crying...' (23). Two consecutive ses of the first Epistle of St John furnish good ex- ples of his endeavour to find English equivalents for terms before him. All the other versions adopt the tin '*advocate*' in 1 John ii. 1, for which Taverner sub- utes the Saxon '*spokesman*.' Tyndale, followed by verdale, the Great Bible, &c. strives after an adequate dering of ἱλασμὸς (1 John ii. 2), in the awkward iphrasis 'he *it is that obtaineth grace* for our sins:' verner boldly coins a word which if insufficient is worthy of notice: 'he is *a mercystock* for our sins[1].

[1] The following characteristic ages introduced by Taverner have a selected from a collation of fourteen chapters of St Matthew most kindly placed at my disposal by Professor Moulton.

		Tyndale 1534.	Taverner 1539.
i.	35	similitudes	parables
-	36	to house	home
-	41	things that offend	griefs
-	—	iniquity	wickedness
-	43	just	righteous
-	45	good	fair
-	53	finished	ended
-	58	for their unbelief's sake	because of their unbelief
r.	5	counted	held
-	31	thou of little faith	little faithful
-	36	vesture only	garment
-	2	transgress	break
-	6	made that... is without effect	defeated...
-	13	plants	planting
-	18	proceed out of	come forth of
-	22	the son	thou son
-	—	piteously	sore
-	26	whelps	dogs
-	33	as should suffice	to fill
-	37	the broken meat	the fragments
i.	3	fashion	countenance
-	23	godly things	things of God
-	—	worldly things	things of men
-	24	forsake	deny
ii.	1	the greatest	greater
-	4	greatest	greater man
-	7	wo be unto	wo worth

It would be tempting to dwell longer on this versi but it appears to have exercised no influence whate

		TYNDALE 1534.	TAVERNER 1539.
xviii.	7	because of offences	for offendings
—	9	offend	let
—	12, 13	ninety and nine	the fourscore and nineteen
—	14	perish	be lost
—	16	all things	every word
—	—	be established	stand
xix.	9	fornication	adultery
—	—	breaketh wedlock	committeth adultery
xix.	28	second generation	new birth
—	—	twelve	the twelve
xx.	25	lords	rulers
—	34	immediately	forthwith
xxi.	17	had his abiding	lodged
xxii.	2	a certain king	a man being a king
—	5	but they made light of it	and they regarded not
—	—	farm place	house in the country
—	6	ungodly	foully
—	12	was even speechless	had nevet a word to say
—	19	tribute money	coin of the tribute money
—	34	that he had put the Sadducees to silence	he had stopped the Sadduce mouths
—	39	and there is another	and the second
xxiii.	2	seat	chair
—	3	observe	keep
—	4	heave at	move
—	6	synagogues	assemblies
—	14	greater	the greater
—	16	he offendeth	is bound (18)
—	22	seat	throne
—	25	bribery	ravyne
—	33	damnation	judgment
xxiv.	12	and because iniquity shall have the upper hand the love of many shall abate	and because of the abundanc wickedness the charity of m shall wax cold
—	24	the very elect	even the chosen persons
—	34	generation	age
—	35	perish	pass
—	—	abide	not pass
—	43	goodman of the house	householder
—	51	will divide him	shall hew him
—	—	reward	part
xxv.	35	harbourless	a stranger (vv. 38, 43)
—	46	eternal	everlasting
xxvi.	2	crucified	nailed to the cross
—	4	held a council	took counsel
—	5	holy	feastful
—	8	had indignation	disdained
—	13	memorial	remembrance
—	17	paschal lamb	passover

the later revisions. It remains simply as a monument of one man's critical power, and in the very sharp personality of its characteristics is alien from the general history of the English Bible[1].

		TYNDALE 1534.	TAVERNER 1539.
vi.	24	shall be b.	is b. (comp. vv. 45, 46),
-	28	testament	covenant
-	—	that shall be shed	shed
-	28	for the remission	to the forgiveness
-	30	said grace	given praises
-	41	willing	prompt
-	42	fulfilled	done
-	45	take heed	behold
-	52	sheath	place
-	54	for so it must be	that so it ought to be
-	61	fellow	man
-	63	peace	tongue
-	—	charge	conjure
-	64	sky	heaven
-	66	worthy to die	guilty of death
-	68	tell	prophesy unto
vii.	4	innocent	guiltless
-	24	and that ye shall see	avise you
-	51	top...bottom	highest...lowest
-	58	begged	craved
-	62	followeth Good Friday	followed the day of preparing the Sabbath
-	65	Take watchmen	Ye have a watch
iii.	1	The Sabbath day at even which dawneth the morrow after the Sabbath	In the evening of the Sabbath days which dawneth unto one of the Sabbaths
-	2	the angel	an angel
-	4	became as dead men	were as dead

Of these corrections it will be noted that a large number exhibit an endeavour after more idiomatic or vigorous renderings: *e.g.* xiii. 36, 41; xv. 6, 33; xvi. 23; xviii. 7, 31; xxi. 17; xxii. 34; xxiv. 43; xxv. 26; xxvi. 2; xxvii. 24; or a taste for more homely or simple or native words: *e.g.* xiii. 41, 43, 53; xv. 2, 18, 22; xix. 28; xxvii. 4. Some renderings shew a delicate feeling for the original: *e.g.* xv. 13, 22; xviii. 16; xxii. 2; xxvi. 24, 66.

The Books are arranged in the following manner:

The Books of the Old Testament
Genesis...The Balet of balettes
The Prophets
Isaiah...Malachiah
The Apocrypha
3 Esdras—2 Maccabees
The New Testament
Four Gospels
Acts
The Epistles
13 of St Paul
St Peter 1, 2
St John 1, 2, 3
Hebrews
St James
Jude
The Revelation.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

§ 6. THE GENEVAN BIBLE.

The character of the Genevan revision.

The foundations of the English Bible were laic exiles in a strange country; and exiles contributed most important revision which it underwent before final settlement of the received text. Under the fluence of Calvin, Geneva had become the seat (society of devoted Biblical students, and the result their labours were made available for the revie the English version by the Marian persecution. more conservative party among the refugees might l scrupled to use them without reserve, but no feeling could hold back the seceders from Frank For the first time the task of emendation was un taken by men who were ready to press it to the u most. They spoke of their position as provider and in looking back upon the later results of their I we can thankfully acknowledge that it was so. T enjoyed, as they say in their preface, many advant over earlier labourers whose renderings 'required gre 'to be perused and reformed.' 'Not,' they add, 'tha 'vindicate anything to ourselves above the least of 'brethren, for God knoweth with what fear and trem 'we have been now (April 1560) for the space of 'years and more day and night occupied herein, 'being earnestly desired.....and seeing the great op 'tunity and occasions which God presented unto u 'this Church, by reason of so many and godly 'and such diversity of translations in divers ton 'we undertook this great and wonderful work, w 'our God according to his divine providence hath dir 'to a most prosperous end.'

Latin ions.

Some important versions indeed had been publ in, addition to those which have been noticed al

s accessible to the first translators. Leo Juda, who ad contributed greatly to the German Bible of Zurich, *Leo Juda* ıboured for many years at a new Latin Version of the)ld Testament. This was left unfinished at his death 1542), but the work was completed by T. Bibliander nd C. Pellican. P. Cholin added a translation of the \pocrypha: R. Gualther revised Erasmus' Latin New Testament; and the whole Bible, thus finished, was >rinted in 1544. The version is vigorous, aiming rather ıt an intelligible sense, than at a literal rendering of :he words of the original. Castalio (Chateillon) carried *Castalio.* :his freedom to a far greater length, and in his singularly =legant version (1551) endeavoured to make the Hebrew writers speak in purely classical Latin. In spite of Beza's vehement assaults Castalio exercised some effect on later Protestant versions; but the New Testament)f his great adversary (1556) exercised a far more)owerful influence than either of these complete Bibles. Beza made some use of the various readings of Greek *Beza.* Manuscripts which had been collected in a convenient orm by Stephens in his Greek Testament of 1550 (ed. egia); but as yet, in spite of the great advances which ıad been made in scholarship, the true principles of Greek criticism were wholly unknown, and the text vhich served as the basis of translation was as faulty as)efore.

These Latin versions, especially Beza's New Testa- *Revision the Fren. Version.* ment, contributed important help to the English revisers; but it was of still greater moment that they were associated at Geneva with a group of scholars who were already engaged in the work of correcting the French Version of Olivetan. As early as 1545 Calvin cursorily revised this Bible, chiefly, as it is said, in points of style and expression. In 1551 he went over the work again

Chap. iii. Internal History.

more thoroughly; and again in 1558. The edition of 1551 contained a new version of the Psalter by L. Budé and of the Apocrypha by Beza. But these successive revisions were confessedly provisional, and it was not till 1588 that the version appeared which, bearing the name 'of the venerable company of pastors at Geneva,' remained for a long time the standard Bible of the French protestants[1].

General character of the Genevan Version of the Old Testament.

Thus the English exiles found themselves surrounded by those who were engaged in a task similar to their own[2]. They started indeed with a far better foundation than the French revisers, and their labours shew no impatient desire for change. In the historical books they preserved in the main the old rendering, altering here and there an antiquated word or a long periphrasis[3]. In the Hagiographa, the Prophets, and the poetic books of the Apocrypha, the changes were necessarily far more numerous. An analysis of the new readings in a few representative passages will place the general character of the revision in a clear light[4].

1 *Kings* i. i.

(GREAT BIBLE.) 5 *And* in Gibeon the Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream by night, and God said, Ask what *thou wilt that I may give it* thee.

6 And Solomon said, Thou hast shewed unto thy servant David my father great mercy, when he walked

[1] For these details I am indebted to Le Long, as I have been unable to obtain access to the editions of 1545 and 1551.

[2] A revised Italian version of the Bible appeared also at Geneva in 1562.

[3] A small sign will shew the scholar's instinct, and this is found in the spelling and *accentuation* of the Hebrew names which is characteristic of the edition of 1560 as Iaakób, Izhák, Rebekáh, Joshúa, Zebulún, Abiméлech, &c. Mr Aldis Wright called my attention to this significant peculiarity.

[4] The text of the Great Bible is taken from the edition of 1550, which the revisers were most likely to use. The words altered in the Genevan version are italicized: those substituted for them are given afterwards

before thee in truth, *in* righteousness, and in *plainness* of heart with thee. And thou hast kept for him this great mercy, *that thou* hast given him a son to sit on his *seat*, as *it is come to pass* this day.

And now, O Lord my God, *it is thou that* hast made thy servant king instead of David my father; and I am but *young* and *wot* not how to go out and in.

And thy servant is in the midst of thy people, which thou hast chosen, *and verily the people are so many that they* cannot be told nor numbered for multitude.

Give therefore unto thy servant an understanding heart to judge *the* people, that I may discern between good and bad; for who is able to judge this, thy *so mighty a* people.

And this pleased the Lord well that Solomon had desired this thing.

5 *and:* om. So Pagninus, French 1556. visus*que* Münster. *autem* Leo Juda. (1)

5 *thou...it* (so M.): *I shall give.* Postula quod dem tibi J. (2)

6 *in* (M. J.) *and in* P. Fr. (3)

— *plainness: uprightness* rectitudine P. M. J. d'vn cœur droit enuers toy Fr. (4)

— *that thou* (ut M. J.): *and* P. (5)

— *seat: throne* (6)

— *it...pass: appeareth* (in ital.) il appert Fr. (secundum diem hanc P. ut est dies hæc M. ut hæc dies declarat J.) (7)

7 *it...that: thou* tu m'as fait regner Fr. (similarly P. M. J.) (8)

— young: *a* young *child.* puer parvus P. M. J. un petit iouuenceau Fr. (9)

— *wot: know.* (10)

Chap. iii. Internal History.

8 *and verily...they: even a great people which...*popul
multi qui non... P. et quidem populus est multu
M. J. qui est vn grand peuple qui... Fr. (11)
9 *the: thy* ton peuple Fr. (so P. M. J.) (12)
— *so mighty a: mighty.* (13)

Of these thirteen changes one seems to come from the French (7), two are different readings adopted from Pagninus (1, 3), seven are renderings closer to the Hebrew, chiefly from Pagninus (2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12), and three are simply linguistic changes (6, 10, 13).

In a passage from Job there is on the other hand considerable originality.

Job xix. (GREAT BIBLE). 23 O that my words were now written: O that they were *put* in a book.
24 *Would God they were* graven with an iron pen in lead or in stone *to continue.*
25 For I am sure that my Redeemer liveth, and *that I shall rise out of the earth in the latter day:*
26 *That I shall be clothed again with this skin, and* see God in my flesh.
27 *Yea I myself shall behold him, not with other, but with these same eyes.*
28 *My reins* are consumed within me: *Did not ye say:* Why *doth he suffer persecution? Is there found an occasion in me?*

23 *put: written even* describerentur. P. exarentur J. (1)
24 *Would...were* (utinam P.): *and* stiloque J. (2)
— *to continue: for ever.* ut sint in perpetuum P. M. quo perpetuo durent J. (3)
25 *That I...day: and he shall stand the last on the earth* (novissimus resurget de pulvere. M. alternative rendering). (4)

26 *That...and see: and though after my skin* worms *destroy this* body, *yet shall I* see (et postquam pellem meam contritam vermes contriverunt hanc carnem et de carne mea videbo deum P. Et postquam corroserint (vermes) corpus istud videbo deum de carne mea M.: otherwise J.) (5)
27 *Whom I myself shall see and mine eyes shall behold and none other* for me (quam ego visurus sum mihi, et oculi mei videbunt et non alienus P. Similarly M. and J.) (6)
28 *my reins:* though *my reins.* (none.) (7)
— *did...say: But ye said.* (none.) (8)
— *doth...persecution: Why is he persecuted?* (ob quid patitur persecutionem M.) (9)
— *Is there...in me: And there was a deep matter in me.* (none.) (10)

Throughout these verses the French rendering is widely different; and of the ten changes introduced into the text of the Great Bible three of considerable importance are apparently original (7, 8, 10). Of the remainder one perhaps comes from the version of Leo Juda (2), three from Pagninus (1, 5, 6), and two from Münster (4, 9).

The revision of the Prophets is similar in kind to that of the historical books though the changes are far more numerous:

(GREAT BIBLE.) 2 The people that *walk* in darkness have seen a great light. *As for them that dwell* in the land of the shadow of death upon them hath the light shined. *Is. ix.*
3 Thou hast multiplied the *people* and not increased their joy: they *rejoice* before thee *even as men make*

merry in harvest, and as men *that have gotten the victory* when they *deal the* spoil.

4 *For thou hast broken the* yoke of *the people's* burden: *the* staff of *his* shoulder and the rod of *his oppressor*, as in the *days* of Midian.

5 *And truly* every battle *that the warrior accomplisheth is done with confused* noise, and *defiling their* garments *with* blood; but *this battle* shall be with burning and *consuming* of fire.

6 For unto us a child is born, and unto us a son is given. *Upon his shoulder doth the kingdom lie*, and *he is called with his own name:* wonderful, *the giver of counsel*, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace.

7 *He shall make no end to increase the kingdom, and peace, and shall* sit upon the *seat* of David, and *in* his kingdom, to *set up the same*, and to stablish it with *equity* and *righteousness* from henceforth *for evermore.*

2 *walk* (M. J.): *walked* P. (1)
— *as...dwell: they that dwelt* habitantibus P. J. (2)
3 *people: nation* gentem P. M. J. (3)
— *rejoice: have rejoiced.* lætati sunt P. M. J. (4)
— *even...merry: according to the joy* secundum lætitiam P. M. (5)
— *that...victory: rejoice* quemadmodum (sicut M.) exultant P. M. J. (6)
— *deal the: divide a.* (7)
4 *For thou...the: for the.* (8)
— *the peoples: their* ejus P. M. J. (9)
— the (P.): *and the* M. J. (10)
— *his: their* (bis) (11)
— *oppressor: oppressor hast thou broken.* (8)
— *days: day* P. M. (temporibus J.). (12)

and truly: surely (equidem J.) (13)
– *that...accomplisheth* (quod fit per præliantem M.): *of the warrior* profligantis J. (14)
– *is...confused* (fit strepitu tumultuoso J.): *is with* so P. M. (15)
– *defiling their: with tumbling of* volutatione vest. M. J. (16)
– *with: in.* So M. J. (17)
– *this battle* (hoc vero bellum M.): *this* (ital.) (18)
– *consuming: devouring* devoratione M. J. (19)
– *Upon.....lie: and the government is upon his shoulder* fuit (factus est M.) principatus super humerum ejus P. M. otherwise J. (20)
– *he is...name: he shall call his name.* (none.) (21)
– *the giver. of counsel: Counsellor* consiliarius P. M. J. Conseillier Fr. (22)
– *He shall...peace: The increase of* his *government and peace shall have none end* (Multiplicatio principatus et pax ipsa (erunt) absque fine M.) (23)
– *and* shall: *he* shall so J. (24)
– *seat: throne* so P. M. J. (25)
– *in: upon* so P. M. J. (26)
– *set...same: order it* ut disponat M. (27)
– *equity: judgment* judicio P. M. J. jugement Fr. (28)
– *righteousness: with justice* justitia P. M. J. justice Fr. (29)
– *for evermore:* even *for ever* et usque P. M. (30)

Of these thirty alterations by far the largest part is due to the desire of greater literality: no less than thirteen can be traced to Pagninus (1—6, 9, 12, 15, 20, 22, 26, 30), five to Münster (16, 17, 19, 23, 27), three perhaps to Leo Juda (13, 14, 24), two are original (18, 21). There is one new reading (10), and six changes are linguistic (7, 8, 11, 25, 28, 29).

Chap. iii. Internal History.

In the Apocryphal books the influence of the l translation, which was due as we have seen to B unmistakeable. One example may suffice:

GREAT BIBLE, 1550.	GENEVA, 1560.	FRENCH E (Lyons), 1
Vid. vii. 15 God hath granted me to *talk wisely and conveniently to handle the things that he hath graciously lent me;* for *it is he that leadeth* unto wisdom, and *teacheth to use wisdom aright.*	God hath granted me to *speak according to my mind and to judge worthily of the things that are given* me: for *he is the leader* unto wisdom and *the director of the wise.*	Et Dieu donné *de p ma volunté, presumer cho gnes de celles sont données: tui est le con* de sapience *correcteur des*
16 In his hand are both we and our words; *yea* all *our* wisdom, *our understanding* and knowledge of *all our* works.	*For* in his hand are both we and our words, *and* all wisdom *and the* knowledge of *the* works.	*Car* nous s en la main d nous et noz p et aussi tou pience, *et di des œuures* ence.
17 For he hath given me the true *science* of *these* things, so that I know how the world was made and the powers of the elements,	For he hath given me the true *knowledge* of *the* things *that are,* so that I know how the world was made and the powers of the elements,	Car cestui donné la vra *ence* des cho *sont:* à fin sache la disp de toute la les vertus d mens,
18 the beginning, ending and midst of the times; *how the times alter; how one goeth after another*	The beginning *and the* end and *the* midst of the times: how the times alter, *and the change of the*	le com ment, *la* cons tion et *le* mil temps, chan des mutation

[1] I have endeavoured to preserve the original spelling.

REAT BIBLE, 1550.	GENEVA, 1560.	FRENCH BIBLE (Lyons), 1556.
how they are lled, The course of year, the *ordi-ces* of the stars, the nature *and ls of beasts;* furiousness of sts, the power of winds, the ima-tions of men, diversities of *ig* plants, the vir- of roots, and *uch* things *as are et and not looked* have I learnt; *the workmaster ll things hath ht me wisdom...*	*seasons,* the course of the year, the *situation* of the stars, the nature *of living things, and* the furiousness of beasts, the power of the winds, and the imaginations of men, the diversities of plants, *and* the virtues of roots; and all things *both secret and known* do I know, for *wisdom the worker of all things hath taught me it...*	*diuisions des temps,* les décours des années, les *dispositions* des estoilles, les natures *des animaux, et* les courroux des bestes, la force des vents, et les cogitations des hommes, les différences des plantes *et* les vertus des racines, et ay apprins toutes choses *secrettes et manifestes.* Car *l'ouurier de toutes choses m'ha enseigné par sapience*[1]...
And *for so h as she is* one, *may* do all gs, and *being fast* herself she :weth all, and *ng the people con-th she herself* the holy souls. maketh God's ıds and pro-ts,	And *being* one she [wisdom] *can* do all things and *remaining in* herself renew-eth all, and *according to the ages, she entereth* into the holy souls *and maketh them the friends of God* and prophets,	Et *combien qu'elle soit* seule, elle *peult* toutes choses, et *estant* en soy *permanente,* elle renouuelle toutes choses, et *par les nations descendant* es saintes ames, *elle ordonne les amis de Dieu* et les prophètes.

[1] The revision of 1588 has as a 'qui est l'ouvrier de toutes choses final rendering 'car la Sapience 'm'a enseigné.'

Chap. iii. Internal History.

GREAT BIBLE, 1550.	GENEVA, 1560.	FRENCH B (Lyons), 1
28 for God loveth *no man but him in whom wisdom dwelleth.*	For God loveth *none, if he dwell not with wisdom.*	Car Dieu *personne fors lui qui hab sapience.*
29 For she is more beautiful than the sun, and *giveth more light than* the stars, and the *day* is not to be compared unto her,	For she is more beautiful than the sun, and *is above all the order of* the stars, and the *light* is not to be compared unto her;	Car icelle belle que l et *par dess la disposition* toilles, elle ree à *la lu* trouuée la p
30 For *upon the day cometh night,* but wickedness cannot overcome wisdom; *and foolishness may not be with her.*	For *night cometh upon it,* but wickedness cannot overcome wisdom.	car *à cest la nuict,* m lice ne vain sapience.

The English Version influenced the later French one of 1588. *Wisd. viii.*

Conversely the same books shew that the version influenced the later French revision:

LYONS, 1556.	GENEVA, 1560.	GENEVA,
19 I'estoye aussi vn enfant ingénieux et *auoye d'auenture trouué vne bonne ame.*	*For* I was a witty child, and *was of a good spirit.*	*Or* estoy vn enfant i et *m' estoit vne bonne a*
20 *Mais estant vn peu meilleur* ie *vins à* vn corps sans souillure.	*Yea rather being good,* I *came to* an undefiled body.	*Ou pluto bon, i'estoye* vn corps sa lure.
21 *Et* quand ie congnu *que autrement ne pouuoye estre*	*Nevertheless* when I perceived *that I could not enjoy her*	Quand *a* cognu *que pourroy io*

LYONS, 1556.	GENEVA, 1560.	GENEVA, 1588.
continent si Dieu ne *de* donnoit, et que celà mesmes estoit *souueraine sapience* de sauoir de qui estoit ce don: ie m'en allay *au* seigneur et le priay *et lui dis* de tout mon cœur...	except God gave *her* (and that was *a point of wisdom* also to know whose gift it was) I went *unto* the Lord, and besought him *and* with my whole heart *I said*...	Dieu ne me *la* donnoi, et que cela mesme estoit *prudence* de sauoir de qui estoit ce don, ie m' en allai *supplier le* Seigneur et le priai *disant* de tout mon cœur...

Summary of the characteristics of the revision of the Old Testament.

The examples which have been given exhibit very fairly the method of revision which was adopted by the Genevan translators in the Old Testament. In all parts they took the Great Bible as their basis and corrected its text, without ever substituting for it a new translation. Even where the changes are greatest the original foundation can still be traced, and the new work fairly harmonizes with the old. One chief aim of the revisers seems to have been to make the translation as nearly verbal as possible, and consequently in a great number of passages they replace the renderings of the Zurich scholars (Coverdale) or Münster by those of Pagninus. At the same time there is abundant evidence to shew that they were perfectly competent to deal independently with points of Hebrew scholarship; and minute changes in expression shew that they were not indifferent to style.

The revision of the New Testament based mainly on Beza.

The history of the Genevan New Testament is simpler than that of the Old. It is little more than the record of the application of Beza's translation and commentary to Tyndale's Testament in three successive stages, first in the separate New Testament of 1557 (Gt)[1], next in the Bible of 1560 (G), and lastly in the New

[1] See p. 232, n. 4.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

Testament of L. Tomson in 1576[1] (T). The revisers undoubtedly exercised an independent judgment in following his renderings. They did not adopt all the alterations which he suggested; and at times they introduced original phrases; but by far the greater part of the changes which were made in the text of Tyndale were simply due to Beza[2].

The changes in 1 John.

An analysis of the changes in one short Epistle will render this plain. Thus, according to as accurate a calculation as I can make, more than two-thirds of the new renderings in 1 John introduced into the revision of 1560 are derived from Beza, and two-thirds of these then for the first time. The rest are due mainly to the revisers themselves[3], and of these only two are found in the revision of 1557. Tomson adds barely five or six closer approximations to Beza, of which one is important (v. 4 'hath overcome'); and once he definitely goes against him (iv. 9 'Herein was that love of God 'made manifest *amongst* us').

The general conclusion thus indicated will be made still clearer by an examination of two short continuous passages. The differences between the first New Testament and the New Testament in the Bible (1560) will thus appear, and it will be seen that the revision in the latter extended to points of language as well as to points of interpretation[4]:

[1] Tomson's New Testament presents the fullest form of Beza's influence. One peculiarity is characteristic of Tomson alone. In his anxiety to express the emphatic force of the Greek article he constantly renders it by 'that' or 'this,' and in many cases the effect is almost grotesque. One example will suffice: 'He that hath *that* Son hath *that* 'life: and he that hath not *that* Son of 'God hath not *that* life' (1 John v. 12).

[2] The basis of the Genevan Testament was certainly Tyndale's (the last text, *i.e.* Matthew) and not the Great Bible. See for instance Gal. i. 10, 14, 15, 19, 21: ii. 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, &c. The corresponding coincidences of the Genevan Testament with the Great Bible against Tyndale are very few: Gal. i. 9, 12: ii. 4.

[3] The most striking are: ii. 18, 19, 20, 29: iv. 5: v. 6.

[4] It is very greatly to be regretted

(TYNDALE, 1534.) 12 *Remember, I say, that ye were at* that time without Christ, and were *reputed* aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and were strangers[1] from the *testaments* of promise, and had no hope and were without God in *this* world.

13 But now in Christ *Jesu* ye which *a while ago*[2] were far off are made *nigh* by the blood of Christ.

14 For he is our peace which hath made of both one and hath *broken down the wall that was a stop between us,*

15 *and hath also put away* through his flesh the *cause of* hatred, that is *to say* the law[3] of commandments *contained in the law written,* for to make of twain one new man in himself, so making peace,

16 and *to* reconcile both unto God in one body *through* his cross, and *slew* hatred thereby;

17 and came and preached peace to you which were afar off and to them that were *nigh;*

18 for through him we both have an *open way in, in one spirit unto the Father.*

12 *Remember...at* Gt: *that ye were* I say G. T.[4] (*vos inquam...fuisse* B.) (1)

— *reputed* Gt: om. G. T. (so B.) (2)

that the New Testament of 1557 and not the New Testament of the Bible has been reprinted in Bagster's Hexapla as the Genevan version. The confusion which has resulted from this error of judgment has led to endless mistakes in discussions on the authorised version. The Testament of 1557 has had no independent influence on the A.V. as far as I can see. Compare Mr F. Fry on *The English New Testament of the Genevan Version* in the *Journal of Sacred Literature,* July 1864.

[1] The Great Bible reads: being aliens from...and strangers...

[2] sometime (G.B.)

[3] Even the law (G.B.)

[4] The Testament of 1557 is marked by Gt and quoted from Bagster's Hexapla: G represents the first edition of the Bible 1560: T, Tomson's Testament quoted from the Bible of 1576. The rendering of Beza is marked B. G gives the following words in italics: Eph. ii. I say, were 4°; 15 that is, which standeth, so; 16 his. Rev. ii. 9 I know, are 2°.

12 *testaments: covenants* Gt G. T. (fœderibus B.) (3)
— *this* Gt: *the* G. T. (in mundo B.) (4)
13 *Jesu: Jesus* Gt G. T. (5)
— *a...ago: once* Gt G. T. (olim B.) (6)
— *nigh* Gt: *near* G. T. (7)
— *the blood* I say *of Christ* Gt. B. omits *I say.* (8)
14 *broken...as: broken the stop of the partition wall* Gt G. T. (intergerini parietis septum B.) (9)
15 *and...away: in abrogating* Gt G. T. (inimicitiis... abolitis B.) (10)
— *cause of* om. Gt G. T. (so B.) (11)
— *to say* Gt: om. G. T. (so B.) (12)
— *contained...written:* which standeth *in ceremonies* (*ordinances* G. T.) Gt G. T. (quæ in ritibus posita est B.) (13)
16 *to: that he might* Gt G. T. (ut conderet...et reconciliaret B.) (14)
— *through: by* Gt G. T. (per B.) (15)
— *slew: slay* Gt G. T. (16)
17 *nigh* (*and nigh* Gt): *near* G. T. (17)
18 *open way in, in* (*by* Gt): *entrance* (so Great Bible) *unto the Father by one Spirit* G. T. (aditum per unum Spiritum ad Patrem B.) (18)

Thus it will be seen that the Testament (Gt 1557) differs from the Bible (1560) in nine places, half of the whole number (1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 12, 13, 17, 18), and of these variations two are of considerable importance (2, 17). In one case the Bible deserts Beza where the Testament followed him (13), one change is simply linguistic (7), but in the other seven cases the Bible is supported by Beza. Of the remaining nine changes common to the Testament and Bible five are in accordance with Beza (3, 9, 11, 14, 15), one is perhaps independent of him

(6), and the remaining three are changes of expression (5, 10, 16). In this passage Tomson agrees with the Bible.

(TYNDALE, 1534.) 8 And unto the angel of the *congregation* of *Smyrna* write: These things saith he that is first and *the* last, which was dead and is alive. *Rev. ii.*

9 I know thy works and tribulation and poverty, but thou art rich; and I know the blasphemy of them which *call themselves* Jews and are not, but are the *congregation* of Satan.

10 Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer. Behold *the devil* shall cast *of* you into prison *to tempt you,* and ye shall have tribulation ten days. *Be* faithful unto the death and I will give thee *a* crown of life.

11 Let him that hath *ears* hear what the spirit saith to the *congregations:* He that overcometh shall not be hurt of the second death.

8 *congregation* of *Smyrna: church* of *the Smyrnians* Gt G. T. (Smyrnæorum B.) (1)
— *the:* om. Gt G. T. (2)
9 *call themselves* Gt: *say they are* G. T. (se dicunt... esse B.) (3)
— *congregation: synagogue* Gt G. T. (synagoga B.) (4)
10 *the devil: it shall come to pass that the d.* Gt G. T. (futurum est ut...B.) (5)
— *of: some of* (so Great Bible) Gt G. T. (6)
— *to...you: that ye may be tried* Gt G. T. (ut exploremini B.) (7)
— *be* Gt: *be thou* G. T. (8)
— *a: the* Gt G. T. (9)

Chap. iii. Internal History.

11 *ears: an ear* Gt G. T. (aurem B.) (10)
— *congregations: churches* Gt G. T. (ecclesiis B.) (11)

In this passage again Tomson's text agrees with that of the Bible[1]. The Testament differs from it twice (3, 8), and in both cases the Bible agrees with Beza. The remaining nine changes are all, as far as the Latin can express them, in accordance with Beza, and one is evidently due to him (5).

xamples right renrings ken from za.

It is of more importance to place in a clear light the real origin of the changes in the English Genevan New Testament because very many of them have passed from that into our own Bible, and it has been forgotten to whom the renderings are due. Thus Archbp. Trench quotes five passages to shew[2] 'the very good and careful 'scholarship brought to bear upon this [the Genevan] 'revision,' in which 'it is the first to seize the exact 'meaning...which all the preceding versions had missed.' They are all derived from Beza. In one case the English translator has adopted his alternative rendering: in the four others he simply takes Beza's translation:

Luke xi. 17 one house shall (doth *Great Bible*) fall upon another (*Tyndale G.B.*)
domus adversus sese dissidens cadit (*Beza*).
a house divided against itself (an house G. T.) falleth (Gt).

Acts xxiii. 27 came I...and rescued him and perceived that he was a Roman (*Tynd. G.B.*)
superveniens...erui quum cognovissem Romanum esse (*Beza*).

[1] An important example of his disagreement is given below, p. 238, n. 1.

[2] *On the Authorised Version*, p. 113, n.

I came and rescued him, perceiving that he was a Roman (Gt).

Acts xxvii. 9 because also that we (they *G.B.*) had overlong fasted (*Tynd. G.B.*)
quod jam etiam jejunium [tempus designat Lucas ex more Judaici populi] præteriisset (*Beza*).
because also the time of (om. the time of G. T.) the fast was now past (Gt).

James i. 13 God tempteth not (cannot tempt *G.B.*) unto evil (*Tynd. G.B.*)
Deus tentari malis non potest (*Beza*).
God cannot be tempted with evil (Gt)[1].

Mark xiv. 72 [he] began to weep (*Tynd. G.B.*)
Possit aliquis interpretari: Quum hoc animadvertisset, id est, re animadversâ. (*Beza not.*)
weighing that with himself he wept (Gt).

The credit of recognizing the right turning remains, but the Genevan translator can have no claim to original sagacity on this evidence.

To place the relation of the Genevan translators to Beza in a still clearer light it will be worth while, though it is an ungracious task, to quote an equal number of cases where under the same influence the Genevan version first goes wrong.

Examples of false readings taken from Beza.

Matt. i. 11 Josias begat *Jakim, and Jakim begat* Jechonias.

Luke ii. 22 When the time of *Mary's* purification...was come.

Luke iii. 36 (Sala) which was the son of Arphaxad...

Rev. xi. 1 There was given me a reed like unto a rod, *and the angel stood by* saying...

[1] This rendering (as we have seen, p. 205) is found in the Great Bible after the first edition.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

Hebr. x. 38 But if *any* withdraw himself...
Mark xvi. 2 When the sun *was yet rising.*

Of these which include four arbitrary corrections of the text the second and fourth and fifth have been incorporated in our present version: the first was abandoned by Beza in his third edition: the sixth is suggested in a note[1] and has modified the received rendering.

Beza's influence on the whole beneficial.

A comparison of the two groups of passages will shew at once the strength and the weakness of Beza and so of the revisions which were moulded after him. In the interpretation of the text he was singularly clear-sighted: in the criticism of the text he was more rash than his contemporaries in proportion as his self-reliance was greater. But though it is a far more grievous matter to corrupt the text than to misinterpret it, the cases in which Beza has corrected the renderings of former translators are incomparably more numerous than those in which he has introduced false readings; and on the whole his version is far superior to those which had been made before, and so consequently the Genevan revisions which follow it[2].

The notes of the Genevan Bible.

The notes of the Genevan Version contributed so greatly to its influence that one or two of them may be added which will be sufficient to shew the general character and scope of the commentary.

[1] One still more surprising change has been adopted in A.V. though it is not in 1557, ἀποθανόντος for ἀποθανόντες in Rom. vii. 6 (He being dead in whom we were holden, T).

[2] The books of the Bible are thus arranged:

'The Names and order of all the 'Books of the Old and New Testament...' ['Genesis...Malachi. 'The Books called Apocrypha. 1 'Esdr. 2 Esdr.—1 Macc. 2 Macc. 'The Books of the New Testament. Matthew...The Epistle of 'Paul to the Romans...Titus, Philemon. To the Ebrewes. James... 'Jude. Revelation.'

'Though we provoke God justly to anger yet he will never reject his.

'God repeateth this point, because the whole keeping of the law standeth in the true use of the Sabbath, which is to cease from our works and to obey the will of God.

'For finding nothing in man that can deserve mercy, he will freely save his.

'Hereby it appeareth that Naomi by dwelling among idolaters was waxen cold in the true zeal of God, which rather hath respect to the ease of the body than to the comfort of the soul.

'Herein he shewed that he lacked zeal for she ought to have died both by the covenant (v. 13) and by the law of God; but he gave place to foolish pity and would also seem, after a sort to satisfy the Law.

'Tabor is a mountain westward from Jerusalem, and 'Hermon eastward; so the prophet signifieth that all 'parts and places of the world shall obey God's power 'for the deliverance of his Church.

'He speaketh this for two causes: the one because 'he that was a mortal creature, and therefore had more 'need to glorify God than the angels, did it not: and 'the other because the more near that man approacheth 'to God the more doth he know his own sin and cor-'ruption.

'If the sun moon and stars cannot but give light 'according to mine ordinance, so long as this world 'lasteth, so shall my church never fail, neither shall any-'thing hinder it: and as sure as I will have a people so 'certain is it that I will leave them my word for ever to 'govern them with.

'He divided the law of nature corrupt into ungod-'liness and unrighteousness. Ungodliness containeth

Chap Inter Histo

Ex. iv. *Ex. x.* 14.

Ex. x. 19.

Ruth i

2 Chro. *xv.* 16.

Ps. lx. 12.

Is. vi.

Jerem. *xxxi.*

Rom. i

'the false worshipping of God: unrighteousness breach
'of law towards man.

Rom. ix. 15. 'As the only will and purpose of God is the chief
'cause of election and reprobation, so his free mercy in
'Christ is an inferior cause of salvation and the harden-
'ing of the heart an inferior cause of damnation.

James v. 16. 'Open that which grieveth you that a remedy may
'be found; and this is commanded both for him that
'complaineth and for him that heareth, that the one
'should shew his grief to the other.

Rev. vi. 9. 'The souls of the saints are under the altar which is
'Christ, meaning that they are in his safe custody in the
'heavens.'

Rev. ix. 3. 'Locusts are false teachers, heretics and worldly
'subtil prelates, with monks, friars, cardinals, patriarchs,
'archbishops, bishops, doctors, bachelors and masters
'which forsake Christ to maintain false doctrine[1].'

§ 7. THE BISHOPS' BIBLE.

The design of the Bishops' Bible

The correspondence on the subject of the Bishops' Bible which has been already quoted explains the general design of the revisers[2]. It was their object to remove from the Great Bible all errors which seemed to impair the sense, and at the same time to produce a popular and not a literary version. In both respects—in the alteration of the renderings and in the alteration of the language—they proposed at least in the first instance to confine themselves to necessary changes, for the revision was essentially conservative in its conception. But in the execution of the plan some of the revisers cer-

[1] In the New Testament the notes in the Bible (1560) differ from those in the Testament of 1557 (*e.g.* Matt. xxviii. 15; Mark i. 1; Rom. xvi. 7), but chiefly by additions made in the Bible.

[2] See pp. 99 ff.

The design unequally carried out.

ainly made use of far wider liberty than the original cheme permitted.

The execution of the work is indeed, if a very par- al examination may be trusted, extremely unequal; nd the Greek scholarship of the revisers is superior to neir Hebrew scholarship. How far the separate sec- ons are marked by the special characteristics of the en engaged upon them I cannot say, and the inquiry not one which would reward the labour which it ould cost. Still the revision has received far less tention than it deserves, and in the New Testament it ews considerable vigour and freshness.

General character.

The historical books of the Old Testament follow e text of the Great Bible very closely. The Hagio- apha, as far as I have examined them, are corrected th considerable freedom. The Prophets are altered ry frequently, but in these the new renderings can nerally be traced to some other source. The influ- ce of the Genevan revision is perceptible throughout, t it is more obvious in the Prophets than elsewhere. stalio was certainly consulted and had some influence th the revisers, but with the exception of the Gene- n version itself no fresh sources were open to them in dition to those which the Genevan exiles had used[1].

Examples.

One or two passages will illustrate what has been id[2].

Is. liii.

GREAT BIBLE, 1550[3]. 1 But who hath given credence unto *the thing we have heard?* or to whom is the arm of the Lord known?

For he did grow before the Lord like as a branch and

[1] See pp. 220, 221.

[2] The passages are taken from the reat Bible of 1550. The readings the Bishops' Bible from the first ition of 1568.

[3] The italics, as before, indicate words and phrases which were chang- ed in the revision. The render rgs substituted are given in detail after- wards.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

as a root in a dry ground. He hath neither beauty nor favour. When we *shall look* upon him there shall be no fairness: we shall have no lust unto him.

3 He is despised and abhorred of men: he is such a man as *is full of sorrow and as hath good experience of infirmities.* We have reckoned him so vile that we hid our faces from him; *yea he was despised and therefore we regarded him not.*

4 Howbeit he only hath taken on him our *infirmities* and borne our pains. Yet we did judge him as though he were plagued and cast down of God *and punished.*

5 Whereas he (*notwithstanding*) was wounded for our offences and smitten for our wickedness. For the *chastisement of our peace* was laid upon him, and with his stripes are we healed.

6 As for us, we *have* gone all astray (like sheep) every one hath turned his own way; but the Lord hath *heaped together* upon him *the iniquity of us all.*

7 He suffered violence and was evil entreated, and did not *yet* open his mouth. He shall be led as a sheep to be slain, yet shall he be as still as a lamb before the shearer and not open his mouth.

8 *He was had away from prison, his cause not heard and without any judgment. Whose generation yet who may number? He* was cut off from the ground of the living, which punishment did go upon him for the transgression of my people, *which indeed had deserved that punishment.*

9 His grave was given him with the condemned and with the rich man at his death, whereas he did never violence nor unright, neither hath there been any deceitfulness in his mouth.

10 Yet hath it pleased the Lord *thus to bruste him with*

plagues and to smite him with infirmity that when he had made his soul an offering for sin he might see long-lasting seed. And this device of the Lord shall prosper in his hand.

11 *With travail and labour of his soul shall he obtain fruit and he shall be* satisfied *by the knowledge of him which is my righteous servant: he shall* justify the multitude, for he shall *bear away* their sins.

12 Therefore will I give him *the multitude for* his part, and he shall divide the spoil with the *strongest*, because he giveth over his soul to death, and is reckoned among the transgressors, which nevertheless have taken away the sins of the multitude and made intercession for the misdoers.

1 *the thing we have heard: our preaching* (our report Geneva 1560) prædicationi nostræ Leo Juda[1] (1) *Is. liii.*

2 *shall* look. (shall see G.): look videmus J. (2)

3 as *is full...as hath good experience of sorrows and infirmities.* homo dolorum ægritudinisque gnarus C. (3)

– yea he was despised and therefore we regarded him not (similarly G. and all): *omit.* (4)

4 *infirmities* (so all): *infirmity* (5)

– *and punished* (and humbled G. similarly all): *omit.* (6)

5 notwithstanding (in smaller type). (*om.* G.) (7)

– *the chastisement of our peace* (so P. M. G.): *the pain of our punishment* mulcta correctionis nostræ J. (8)

6 we *have* gone all (G.): we *are* all gone (9)

– *heaped together...all* (hath laid upon him the iniquity of us all G.): *thrown* upon him *all our sins* in eum omnium nostrum crimen conjecit C. (10)

[1] The translation of Leo Juda will be indicated by J. The Geneva version and the versions of Pagninus, Münster, and Castalio are indicated as before by G, P, M, C.

7 did not *yet* (similarly M. J. G.): did not P. (11)
8 *he was had away...judgment: from the prison and judgment was he taken* (he was taken out from prison and from judgment G.): so P. C. otherwise J. (12)
— *whose* generation...*number: and his* generation who *can declare?* (and who shall declare his age? G.) generationem ejus quis enarrabit P. M. (13)
— he was: *for* he was (so P. M. J. G.) (14)
which...punishment (M): *om.* (so P. J. G.) (15)
10 *thus to bruste him with plagues and* to smite (somewhat similarly P. M. G.): to smite (infirmando atterere J.) (libuit autem Jovæ eum ægritudine contundere C.) (16)
11 *with* travail...shall be...: *of the* travail and labour of his soul *shall he see the fruit and be*...so M. (he shall see of the travail of his soul and shall be...G.) (17)
— *by the knowledge...shall* justify (M.): *my righteous servant shall with his knowledge justify*...(by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many G.) cognitione sui multos justificabit justus servus meus J. similarly C. (18)
— bear *away*...: bear... (so P. M. J. C.) (19)
12 *the multitude for* his part...: *among the great ones* his part... (give him a portion with the great G.) similarly P. M. C. otherwise J. (20)
— the *strongest* (M): the *mighty* (the strong G.) fortibus P. J. (21)

Thus of the twenty-one corrections five are due to the Genevan version (7, 12, 18, 20, 21): five more agree with Pagninus (11, 13, 14, 15, 19): three with Leo Juda (1, 2, 8): three with Castalio (3, 10, 16); and one with Münster (17). One change is simply linguistic (9), and three are apparently original (4, 5, 6).

In a passage from the Psalms the reviser shews far ;ater originality and the influence of the Genevan 'ision is considerably less[1]:

:EAT BIBLE 1550. 1 The heavens declare the glory Ps. xix.
>f God and the firmament sheweth His handiwork.
One day telleth another and one night certifieth another.
There is neither speech nor language, but their voices are heard among them: their sound is gone out (*gone* May 1541) into all lands, and their words into the ends of the world.
In them *hath he* set a tabernacle for the sun, which cometh forth as a bridegroom out of his chamber and rejoiceth as a giant to run his course.
It goeth forth from the utmost part of *the* heaven, and runneth *about* unto the *end of it again*, and there is nothing hid from *the heat thereof.*
The law of *the Lord* is *an undefiled law*, converting the soul; the testimony of *the Lord* is sure, and giveth wisdom unto the simple.
The statutes of *the Lord* are right and rejoice the heart, the commandment of *the Lord* is pure and giveth light unto the eyes.
The fear of *the Lord* is *clean* and endureth for ever, the judgments of *the Lord* are *true and righteous altogether.*
More to be desired are they than gold, yea than much fine gold: *sweeter also* than honey and the honeycomb.
Moreover by them *is* thy servant *taught* and in keeping of them there is *great* reward.

[1] In some editions of the Bishops' ble the Psalter of the Great Bible ne is printed (*e.g.* 1602): in others the Psalter of the Great Bible and the revised Psalter are printed side by side.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

11 Who can *tell how oft he offendeth:* O cleanse th
from (*my*) *secret faults.*
12 Keep thy servant also from presumptuous *sin*
they get the dominion over me: so *shall I* be *un*
and *innocent from the great* offence.
13 Let the words of my mouth and the meditat
my heart be (always) acceptable in thy sig
Lord, my strength and my redeemer.
2 *A day occasioneth talk thereof unto a day, and a*
teacheth knowledge unto a night. (Day unt
uttereth the same, and night unto night tea
knowledge G.) similarly P. M. (1)
3 *There is...gone out: no language, no words, n*
of theirs is heard; yet their sound goeth (nc
[illis] sermo, non verba, neque auditur vox e
in omnem tamen... J.) (2)
4 hath he: he hath (3)
5 *It...forth: his going forth is* egressus ejus M
going out is G. (4)
— *the:* om. (5)
— *runneth about: his circuit* revolutio ejus P. M
compass G. (6)
— *and...again: utmost part thereof* ad extrema
M. J. (7)
— *the* h. *thereof: his* heat (8)
6 *the Lord: God* (so throughout), not P. M. J.
(9)
— *an undefiled law: perfect* G. (10)
8 *clean* (P. J. G.): *sincere* sincerus M. (11)
— *true* (J.): *truth* P. M. G. (12)
8 *and...altogether: they be just in all points* (just
pariter P. M. J.) (13)
9 *more...they: They are more to be desired...* (14
— *sweeter also* (G.): *they are also sweeter* (15)

10 *is...taught:* thy servant *is well advertised.* (perspicue admonetur J.) (16)
— great (G): *a* great (17)
11 *tell...offendeth: know his own errors* (errores quis intelligit M. err. quis animadvertat J.) (18)
— (*my*) *secret faults: those that I am not privy of* (19)
12 sins: [sins] (20)
— *lest...dominion: let them not reign* G. (ne dominentur mihi P. M. J.) (21)
— *shall...undefiled*: *I shall be perfect* perfectus ero P. (22)
innocent...great: void from all heinous (innocens a quovis grandiori scelere J.) (23)
13 (always): om. so G. (24)
— *Lord: God* (25)

Of these changes one-fifth appears to be original (1, 5, 13, 20, 25): seven more are linguistic (3, 8, 9, 14, 15, 17, 19): three are coincidences with Pagninus (6, 12, 22): five with Leo Juda (2, 7, 16, 18, 23): four with the Genevan version (4, 10, 21, 24): and one with Münster (11).

The revision of the New Testament more important than that of the Old.

There is but little to recommend the original renderings of the Bishops' Bible in the Old Testament. As a general rule they appear to be arbitrary and at variance with the exact sense of the Hebrew text[1]. The revision of the New Testament however will repay careful study.

Lawrence's Notes.

Among the revisers was Lawrence, 'a man in those 'times of great fame for his knowledge in the Greek[2],' of whose labours Strype has preserved a singularly in-

[1] It is possible that I have been unfortunate in the parts which I have examined; for what I saw did not encourage me to compare very much of the Bishops' text with the other versions.

[2] Strype's *Parker*, II. 223.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

ut ὁ εἰς τὸν ἄγρον ὢν μὴ ἐπιστρεψάτω εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, that he that is in the field let him not turn back. εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω signifieth no more but back: John vi. 66...This superfluity is in the Genevan translation.'

It is not known how far Lawrence's labours extended, but an examination of a difficult passage of an Epistle will prove that the reviser who corrected it was not deficient in originality and vigorous scholarship[1]:

GREAT BIBLE, 1550. 7 *Unto* every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ. *Eph. iv.*

8 Wherefore he saith, When he went up on high he led captivity captive and gave gifts unto men.

9 *That* he ascended, what *meaneth* it, but that he also descended first into the *lowest* parts of the earth.

10 He that descended is even the same also that ascended up *above* all heavens to fulfil all things.

11 And *the very same made* some Apostles, *some* Prophets, *some* Evangelists, *some* Shepherds and Teachers,

12 to the *edifying* of the Saints, *to* the work *and* ministration, *even to* the edifying of the body of Christ,

13 till we all *come to* the unity of faith, and knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the *full perfect age* of Christ,

14 that we henceforth *should* be no more children wavering and carried about with every wind of doctrine *by* the wiliness of men, *through* craftiness, *whereby they lay a wait for us to deceive us.*

15 But *let us follow the* truth in love *and in all things grow in him* which is the head, *even* Christ,

16 in whom *if* all the body *be* coupled and knit together *throughout* every joint *wherewith one ministereth to another,* according to the *operation as every part*

[1] The text is taken as before from the Great Bible of 1550.

16 *operation...measure: effectual power on the measure of every part* (eff. p. which is in &c. G.) (24)
— *he increaseth: maketh increase of* (receiveth increase of G.) (25)
— *through: in* G. (26)

Of these twenty-six variations no less than sixteen are new, while only ten are due to the Genevan version; and the character of the original corrections marks a very close and thoughtful revision based faithfully upon the Greek. The anxiously literal rendering of the particles (2) and prepositions (9, 11, 12, 15, 16) is specially worthy of notice: so too the observance of the order (19), and of the original form of the sentences (17, 18, 20, 23, 24), even where some obscurity follows from it. In four places the Authorised Version follows the Bishops' renderings (3, 4, 10, 25); and only one change appears to be certainly for the worse in which the rendering of the Genevan Testament has been followed (8 Beza *ad coagmentationem*). The singular independence of the revision as compared with those which have been noticed before is shewn by the fact that only four (3, 10, 11, 18) of the new changes agree with Beza and at least nine are definitely against him (4, 12, 15, 16, 17, 20, 23 24, 25)[1].

Second edition of the Bishops' Bible.

In 1572 a new edition of the Bishops' Bible was published. In this the translation of the Old Testament, as far as I have been able to examine it, is un-

[1] According to Mr Offor (MS. Collections, II. 54 ff.) the New Testament in the Bishops' Bible is taken from a revision of Sir J. Cheke's (?) New Testament published by Jugge in 1561. The collations which he gives of John i., Acts i., Rom. i., Rev. i., certainly go far to establish the statement, but I have not been able to consult the edition referred to. The Testament which answers to it in Dr Cotton's list is described as 'Tyndale's.' [Mr F. Fry has taken great pains to ascertain the truth of this statement, but has not been able to find the least trustworthy evidence in support of it.]

IOPS' BIBLE 1568.	BISHOPS' BIBLE 1572, 1578.
·ou which were, A. V.	you [which were] (13)
)oth have, A. V.	have both (14)
:itizens	fellow-citizens, A. V. ('5)
'e also, A. V.	also ye (16)
;hewed he	shewed [God] (17)
:hat the, A. V.	[that] the (18)
ım made	was made, A. V. (19)
Unto me the least	unto me which (who, A. V.) am less than the least, A. V. (20)
confidence which is by	confidence by, A. V. (21)
in my	for my (22)
knowledge, A. V.	[all] knowledge (23)
be praise	be glory, A. V. (24)
in the wiliness	and in the wiliness (25)
Christ	[even] Christ, A. V. (26)
being coupled	being conveniently coupled (27)
joint of subministration	joint yielding nourishment (28)
rebuked of the light, are manifest	rebuked are made manifest of the light (29) mg. some read rebuked of the light are made manifest
how ye walk	that ye walk, A. V. (30)
to Christ	unto Christ, A. V. (31)
cleansing [it]	when he had cleansed [it] (32)
to make it unto	that he might present it unto (to A. V.), A. V. (33)
your fathers and mothers	your parents, A. V. (34)
your bodily	[your] bodily (similarly A. V.) (35)
threatening, A. V.	threatenings (36)

Chap. iii. Internal History.

	Bishops' Bible 1568.	Bishops' Bible 1572, 1578.
vi. 12	rule	rules (37)
—	spiritual craftiness	spiritual wickedness, A. V. (38)
— 14	loins	your loins, A. V. (39)
—	putting on	having on, A. V. (40)
— 15	having your feet	your feet, A. V. (41)
— 18	watch thereunto, A. V.	watching for the same purpose (42)
— 23,	peace [be] unto (to A. V.) the brethren, A. V.	peace [be unto you] brethren (43)
— 24	grace be	grace [be], A. V. (44)

Of the changes introduced in 1572 1, (6), 7, 21, (27), 30, 34, (38), 39, 40, 41, 44, appear to be due to the Genevan version; but the revision generally bears the same mark of independent judgment as that of 1568.

The commentary. The notes in the Bishops' Bible differ generally in their character from those in the Genevan. They are shorter and more epigrammatic, and deal more frequently with the interpretation than with the application of the text. Yet there are in them, as will be seen even in the following examples, many dogmatic statements which are of importance in estimating the standard theology of the age. The chief part of the commentary on a single chapter will shew the general range of the notes: a few detached specimens will illustrate their doctrinal nature.

Gen. l. 1 'Natural sorrow if it be in measure is not to be reprehended.

2 '*to embalm:* This was to the godly then an outward token of incorruption, but to the ignorant a vain ceremony.

19 '*Am I God?* or *In the place of God.*

'That is, he would not turn that to their shame which God had disposed to their wealth. 20

'*kindly. To their hearts.* 21

'*born* or *brought up or nourished.* 23

'The truth of God's promise is immortal which men must look for patiently and not prescribe God a time.' 24

'his name Everlasting. Jah, a name of God that signifieth him to be always and other things to be of him. *Ps. lxviii.* 4

'*preachers.* The women that told it abroad. 11

'*the ornament of an house divided the spoil.* That is a woman, meaning Debora. 12

'*in it.* In the land of promise. 14

'*the people like unto calves: Calves of people.* 30

'princes: *Ambassadors.* 31

'*the most highest eternal heavens: upon the heavens, the heavens of eternity.*' 33

'Satan betrayeth himself, shewing his bold sacrilege, usurping the empire of the earth.' *Luke iv.* 6.

'The mystery of man's redemption and salvation is perfected by the only sacrifice of Christ, the promise to the fathers fulfilled, the ceremonies of the law ended.' *John xix.* 30.

'The will and purpose of God is the cause of the election and reprobation; for his mercy and calling through Christ are the means of salvation; and the withdrawing of his mercy is the cause of damnation.' *Rom. ix.* 11.

'Our health hangeth not on our works, and yet are they said to work out their health who do run in the race of justice. For although we be saved freely in Christ by faith, yet must we walk by the way of justice unto our health.' *Phil. ii.* 12.

'They that stick to the ceremonies of the law cannot eat, that is cannot be partakers of our altar, which is *Hebr. xiii.* 10.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

'thanksgiving and liberality, which two sacrifice 'offerings are now only left to the Christians[1].'

§ 8. THE RHEMES AND DOWAY BIBLE.

The Rhemish Version a secondary translation from the Vulgate.

The Rhemish Bible, like Wycliffe's, lies pro outside the line of English Bibles, because it is a sec ary translation based upon the Vulgate. But nevertheless of considerable importance in the int history of the authorised text, for it furnished a proportion of the Latin words which King James visers adopted; and it is to this rather than to C dale's Testaments that we owe the final and most p ful action of the Vulgate upon our present Version.

The translators' account of this work.

The Rhemish translators give a very interesting ingenious defence of their method, but they expre obligation to the earlier English translations whicl formed the groundwork of their version[2]. They the current Latin Vulgate for their guide, and exp disclaim the intention of acting as interpreters

[1] The books are arranged in the following manner in the table of contents:

'The order of the Books of the 'Old Testament.'

'The first part:' Genesis—Deuteronomy.

'The second part:' Joshua—Job.

'The third part of the Bible:' The Psalter—Malachi.

'The fourth part of the Bible called 'Apocryphus:' 3 Esdr.—1 Macc. 2 Macc.

'The order of the books of the 'New Testament.'

'The fifth part.'

The four Gospels. The Acts.

St Paul's Epistles: Romans—Hebrews.

St James.

1, 2 St Peter.

1, 2, 3 St John.

St Jude.

Revelation.

[2] This will appear, at least New Testament, by a compar any chapter in the Rhemish with the earlier English trans The coincidences with the G revision alone (1560) in a singl ter are striking. Rom. i. 6 *th of* Jesus Christ; 10 have a p ous journey; 12 be *comforte* ther in you; 17 *revealed;* 23 *tible;* 28 a *reprobate* sense; *not convenient.* Some of thes may have come independent the Vulgate, but a comparis Wycliffe shews that it is unlik all did. Cf. ii. 5, 17; iv. 14; v

The choice of a ground text.

lat is obscure. What they say upon each point is well orth quoting, and may serve as a commentary on omish views of Scripture at the end of the 16th cenary.

'We translate the old vulgar Latin text, not the ommon Greek text, for these causes:

'1. It is so ancient that it was used in the Church bove 1300 years ago...

'2. It is that...by all probability which St Jerome fterward corrected according to the Greek by the ppointment of Damasus then Pope...

'3. Consequently it is the same which St Augustine o commendeth...

'4. It is that which for the most part ever since hath been used in the Church's Service...

'5. The Holy Council of Trent, for these and many other important considerations, hath declared and defined this only of all other Latin translations to be authentical...

'6. It is the gravest, sincerest, of greatest majesty, least partiality, as being without all respect of controversies and contentions, specially those of our time...

'7. It is so exact and precise according to the Greek, both the phrase and the word, that delicate heretics therefore reprehend it of rudeness...

'8. The adversaries themselves, namely Beza, prefer it before all the rest...

'9. In the rest there is such diversity and discussion and no end of reprehending one another, and translating every man according to his fancy, that Luther said If the world should stand any long time, we must receive again (which he thought absurd) the decrees of Councils for preserving the unity of faith, because of so diverse interpretations of the Scripture...

its obscurity. 'We have used no partiality for the disadvantage of our adversaries, nor no more license than is sufferable in translating of holy Scriptures, continually keeping ourselves as near as is possible to our text and to the very words and phrases which by long use are made venerable, though to some profane or delicate ears they may seem more hard or barbarous, as the whole style of Scripture doth lightly to such at the beginning, acknowledging with St Jerome that in other writings it is enough to give in translation sense for sense, but that in Scriptures, lest we miss the sense, we must keep the very words.' 'We do not doubt,' they add, 'but that to the discreet reader that deeply weigheth and considereth the importance of sacred words and speeches, and how easily the voluntary translator may miss the true sense of the Holy Ghost... our consideration and doing therein shall seem reasonable and necessary; yea and that all sorts of Catholic readers will in short time think that familiar which at the first may seem strange, and will esteem it more when they shall otherwise be taught to understand it than if it were the common known English.'

Use of strange words.

Thus they retain *Amen, Amen* and *Alleluia* 'for the more holy and sacred authority thereof.' In the same way they keep *Corbana, Parasceue, Pasch, Azymes, the read of Proposition,* just as we retain Pentecost. *Neophyte* (1 Tim. iii. 6) they defend by *Proselyte, Didrachms, Prepuce* and *Paraclete* by *Phylacteries.* 'How is it possible,' they ask, 'to express *evangelizo* but by *evangelize?* ...Therefore [also] we say *Depositum* (1 Tim. vi. 20) and he *exinanited* himself (Phil. ii. 7), you have '*reflourished* (Phil. iv. 10) and to *exhaust* (Heb. ix. 28), because we cannot possibly attain to express these words fully in English, and we think much better that the

Chap. iii. Internal History.

'reader staying at the difficulty of them should take
'occasion to look in the table following[1] or otherwise to
'ask the full meaning of them, than by putting some
'usual English words that express them not so to
'deceive the reader...The *advent* of the Lord, and in-
'*posing* of hands...come out of the very Latin text of
'the Scripture. So did *penance, doing penance, chalice,*
'*priest, deacon, tradition, altar, host* and the like...'

Difficulties purposely left unsolved.

From these principles it followed consistently that the translators did not scruple to leave the version unintelligible or ambiguous where the Latin text itself was so. This they distinctly profess:

'Moreover we presume not to mollify the speeches
'or phrases, but religiously keep them word for word,
'and point for point, for fear of missing or restraining
'the sense of the Holy Ghost to our fancy as Eph. vi. 12,
'*against the spirituals of wickedness in the celestials*...
'James iv. 6, *and giveth the greater grace,* leaving it
'indifferent to the *Scripture* or to the *Holy Ghost* both
'going before...'

The value of the translation lies in its vocabulary.

In itself then the Version has no independent merit as a version of the original texts. It is said indeed to have been compared with the Hebrew and Greek, but the collation must have been limited in scope or in-

[1] In this table, which contains fifty-five terms, the following words occur as 'not familiar to the vulgar 'reader:'

acquisition, getting, purchasing Eph. i. 14.
advent, The coming Matt. xxiv. 28.
adulterating, corrupting 2 Cor. ii. 17.
allegory, a mystical speech Gal. iv. 23.
cooperate, signifieth working with others Rom. viii. 28.
evangelize.
eunuchs.
holocaust, a kind of sacrifice...Heb. x. 6.
paraclete, John. xiv. 16.
prescience, foreknowledge Acts ii. 23.
resuscitate, raise, quicken, renew 1 Tim. i. 6.
victims, sacrifices Acts vii. 42.

The list is a singular commentary on the large infusion of classical words into common language since the beginning of the xviith century. Comp. p. 265.

fectual, for the Psalter (to take one signal example) is anslated, not from Jerome's version of the Hebrew, but om his revision of the very faulty translation from the eptuagint, which commonly displaced it in Latin Bibles. s it stands, the Doway Bible is simply the ordinary, nd not the pure, Latin text of Jerome in an English ress. Its merits, and they are considerable, lie in its ocabulary. The style, so far as it has a style, is unatural, the phrasing is most unrhythmical, but the nguage is enriched by the bold reduction of innumerble Latin words to English service[1].

Examples from the Old Testament.

One or two examples will be sufficient to indicate its erits and defects:

DOWAY.	VULGATE.
Dan. ix. 18 Incline my God thine ear and hear: open thine eyes and see our desolation and the city *upon which thy name is invocated;* for neither *in our justifications do we prostrate prayers* before thy face, but in thy many commiserations.	Inclina Deus meus aurem tuam et audi; aperi oculos tuos et vide desolationem nostram et civitatem *super quam invocatum est nomen tuum;* neque enim *in justificationibus nostris prosternimus preces* ante faciem tuam, sed in miserationibus tuis multis.
19 Hear O Lord, be pacified, O Lord: attend and do; delay not for thine own sake my God: because thy name is invocated upon thy city and upon thy people.....	Exaudi, Domine, placare, Domine, attende et fac: ne moreris propter temetipsum, Deus meus: quia nomen tuum invocatum est super civitatem et super populum tuum.....
24 Seventy weeks are abridged upon thy people and upon thy holy city, *that prevarication may be consummate*	Septuaginta hebdomades abbreviatæ sunt super populum tuum, et super urbem sanctam tuam, *ut consummetur*

[1] I am not aware that English lexicographers have examined this subject, but it would repay examination.

DOWAY.	VULGATE.
and sin take an end and iniquity be abolished and everlasting justice be brought; and vision be accomplished and prophecy; and the Holy one of Holies be anointed.	*prævaricatio* et finem accipiat peccatum et deleatur iniquitas, et adducatur justitia sempiterna et impleatur visio et prophetia et ungatur sanctus sanctorum.
25 Know therefore and mark: From the giving forth of the word that Jerusalem be built again unto Christ the Prince there shall be seven weeks and sixty-two weeks, and the street shall be built again and the walls in straitness of the times.	Scito ergo et animadverte: ab exitu sermonis ut iterum ædificetur Jerusalem usque ad Christum ducem, hebdomades septem et hebdomades sexaginta duo erunt; et rursum ædificabitur platea et muri in angustia temporum.
26 And after sixty-two weeks Christ shall be slain, *and it shall not be his people that shall deny him.* And the city and the sanctuary shall the people dissipate with the prince to come: *and the end thereof waste* and after the end of the battle the appointed desolation.	Et post hebdomadas sexaginta duas occidetur Christus *et non erit ejus populus qui eum negaturus est.* Et civitatem et sanctuarium dissipabit populus cum duce venturo, et *finis ejus vastitas* et post finem belli statuta desolatio.

The correspondence with the Latin text is thus absolutely verbal, and it is only through the Latin that the English in some places becomes intelligible. But on the other hand Jerome's own greatness as a translator is generally seen through the second version. A very familiar passage will shew how closely the rendering can approach our own even in the Prophets:

6 For a little child is born to us and a son is given to us,

and principality is made upon his shoulder, and his name shall be called Marvellous, Counsellor, God, Strong, Father of the world to come, the Prince of peace.

His empire shall be multiplied and there shall be no end of peace: he shall sit upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, that he may confirm it and strengthen it in judgment and justice from this time and for ever; the zeal of the Lord of hosts shall do this.

The Psalter extremely unsatisfactory.

The Psalter is the most unsatisfactory part of the hole book. Even where the sense is sufficiently clear remain distinct through three translations, from Hebrew to Greek, from Greek to Latin, from Latin to nglish, the stiff, foreign style sounds strangely unsuited words of devotion; and where the Latin itself has ready lost the sense, the English baffles understanding. ne specimen of each kind may be added:

Ps. xix.

The Law of our Lord is immaculate converting souls: the testimony of our Lord is faithful, giving wisdom to little ones.

The justices of our Lord be right, making hearts joyful: the precept of our Lord lightsome, illuminating the eyes.

ɔ The fear of our Lord is holy, permanent for ever and ever; the judgments of our Lord be true, justified in themselves.

ɪ To be desired above gold and much precious stone: and more sweet above honey and the honey comb.

ɜ For thy servant keepeth them, in keeping them is much reward.

ȝ Sins who understandeth? From my secret sins cleanse me: and from other men's spare thy servant.

Rom. ix. 28 For consummating a word and abridging it in equity: because a word abridged shall our Lord make upon the earth.

Eph. vi. 12 Our wrestling is...against princes and potentates, against the rectors of the world of this darkness, against the spirituals of wickedness in the celestials.

Heb. xiii. 16 Beneficence and communication do not forget, for with such hosts God is premerited[1].

Examples of Latin words which have been adopted in our Version.

Such translations as these have no claim to be considered vernacular renderings of the text: except through the Latin they are unintelligible. But still they only represent what there was in the Vulgate incapable of assimilation to an English version. And on the other hand a single Epistle furnishes the following list of Latin words which King James' translators have taken from the Rhemish Testament: *separated* (Rom. i. 1), *consent* (mg.) (i. 32), *impenitent* (ii. 5), *approvest* (ii. 18), *propitiation* (iii. 25), *remission* (*id.*), *grace* (iv. 4), *glory* in tribulations (v. 3), *commendeth* (v. 8), *concupiscence* (vii. 7), *revealed* (viii. 18), *expectation* (viii. 19), (conformable, viii. 29), *confession is made* unto salvation (x. 10), *emulation* (xi. 14), *concluded* (xi. 32), *conformed* (xii. 2), *instant* (xii. 12), *contribution* (xv. 26).

Preservation of the original order; and

But at the same time it must be added that the scrupulous or even servile adherence of the Rhemists to the text of the Vulgate was not always without advantage. They frequently reproduced with force the original order of the Greek which is preserved in the Latin; and even while many unpleasant roughnesses

[1] All the quotations are made from the first editions. In the later (Irish) editions of the 'Rhemes and Doway' Bible and New Testament there are considerable alterations, and the text is far nearer to that in the A. V. Examples are given by Dr Cotton, *Rhemes and Doway*...Oxford, 1853, pp. 183 ff.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

occur, there can be little doubt that their version gain[ed] on the whole by the faithfulness with which they e[n]deavoured to keep the original form of the sacred wri[t]ings. Examples of this simple faithfulness occur co[n]stantly, as for instance: Matt. xviii. 9, *having one eye [to] enter into life;* id. 27, *the debt he forgave him;* xx. 12, *the burden of the day and the heat;* id. 23, *my cup indeed you shall drink of;* xxi. 41, *the naughty men he will bring to naught;* xxii. 13, *those that are going in you suffer not to enter;* xxvi. 11, *the poor you have.*

Form of expression.

The same spirit of anxious fidelity to the letter of their text often led the Rhemists to keep the phrase of the original where other translators had unnecessarily abandoned it: *e.g.* Matt. xvii. 1, *hour;* id. 6, *it is expedient;* id. 9, *the hell of fire;* xx. 20, *the sons of Z.;* xxii. 2, *likened;* id. 44, *the footstool of thy feet;* xxvi. 25, *Is it I, Rabbi?* (contrasted with v. 22) and so v. 49.

The Greek Scholarship of the Rhemists.

When the Latin was capable of guiding them the Rhemists seem to have followed out their principles honestly; but wherever it was inadequate or ambiguous they had the niceties of Greek at their command. Their treatment of the article offers a good illustration of the care and skill with which they performed this part of their task. The Greek article cannot, as a general rule, be expressed in Latin. Here then the translators were free to follow the Greek text, and the result is that this critical point of scholarship is dealt with more satisfactorily by them than by any earlier translators. And it must be said also that in this respect the revisers of King James were less accurate than the Rhemists, though they had their work before them. For example the Rhemish version omits the definite article in the following passages where it is wrongly inserted by A.V. and all earlier versions: Matt. ii. 13 (*an angel*); Luke ii. 9

(*an angel*); John vi. 26 (*signs* not *the miracles*). Much more frequently it rightly inserts the articles where other versions (including A.V.) omit it: *e.g.* Matt. iv. 5 (*the pinnacle*); vi. 25 (*the meat, the raiment*); xiv. 22 (*the boat*); xxv. 30 (*the utter*); xxviii. 16 (*the mountain*); John v. 35 (*the lamp*); 1 Cor. x. 5 (*the more part*); Gal. iii. 25 (*the faith*); Apoc. vii. 13 (*the long white robes*)[1].

English words.

There are also rarer cases in which the Rhemists furnish a true English phrase which has been adopted since, as *fellowservants* (Matt. xviii. 28), *kingdom against kingdom* (Matt. xxiii. 7), *fail* (Luke xvi. 9), *darkened* (Rom. i. 21), *foreknew* (Rom. xi. 2). Elsewhere they stand alone in bold or idiomatic turns of expression: *throttled him* (Matt. xviii. 28), *workmen* (Matt. xx. 1), *stagger not* (Matt. xxi. 21), *impious broods* (Matt. xxiii. 33), *bankers* (Matt. xxv. 27), *overgoe* (1 Thess. iv. 6).

§ 9. THE AUTHORISED VERSION.

The study of the Vulgate renewed.

The Rhemish Version of the New Testament, supported by Martin's attack on the English Bible, had once again called attention to the importance of the Latin Vulgate before the revision of King James was undertaken. During the sixteenth century this had been in a great degree thrust out of sight by the modern translations of Erasmus and Beza, which had influenced respectively the Great and the Genevan Bibles. At the same time the study of Hebrew and Greek had been pursued with continued zeal in the interval which had elapsed since the publication of the Bishops' Bible; and

[1] For most of these and of the other references to the Rhemish Version, *I am indebted to the kindness of Prof. Moulton, who placed at my* disposal a most exact collation of the English versions, reaching over a large portion of the Gospels.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

New Latin Versions of the Old Testament.

two important contributions had been made to the interpretation of the Old Testament.

Arias Montanus.

In 1572 Arias Montanus, a Spanish scholar not unworthy to carry on the work of Ximenes, added to the Antwerp Polyglott, which he edited by the command of Philip II., an interlinear Latin translation of the Hebrew text, based on that of Pagninus, whose readings he added to his own. The translation is rigidly verbal, but none the less it helped to familiarize ordinary scholars with the exact forms of Hebrew idioms which were more or less hidden in the earlier versions.

Tremellius.

Seven years afterwards Tremellius, by birth a Jew, published an original Latin translation of the Old Testament (1579), with a commentary, which rapidly obtained a very extensive currency. His son-in-law Junius added a translation of the Apocrypha. The whole Bible was completed by a translation of the New Testament by Tremellius from the Syriac; but for this the New Testament of Beza was frequently substituted.

Vernacular Versions.

Besides these works, which were designed for scholars, three important vernacular versions also had been published.

French.

In 1587-8 an authoritative revision of the French Bible was put forth by the 'venerable company of Pastors' at Geneva which was based upon a careful examination of the original texts. The chief part of the work is said to have been executed by B. C. Bertram, a Hebraist of distinguished attainments, and he was assisted by Beza, Goulart and others.

Italian.

An Italian translation was printed in the same city in 1607 by J. Diodati, who was a professor of Hebrew there. This translation has maintained its place to the present day, and though it is free, it is of very great excellence.

Spanish.

In the mean time two Spanish versions had appeared, the first at Basle in 1569 by C. Reyna, and the second, which was based on

Reyna's, at Amsterdam in 1602 by C. de Valera. All these versions have an independent value, and when King James' revisers speak of their pains in consulting 'the Spanish, French and Italian translators,' there can be no doubt that it is to these they refer[1].

Thus King James' revisers were well furnished with external helps for the interpretation of the Bible, and we have already seen that they were competent to deal independently with questions of Hebrew and Greek scholarship. Like the earlier translators they suffered most from the corrupt form in which the Greek text of the New Testament was presented to them. But as a whole their work was done most carefully and honestly. It is possible to point out inconsistencies of rendering and other traces of compromise, but even in the minutest details the translation is that of a Church and not of a party. It differs from the Rhemish Version in seeking to fix an intelligible sense on the words rendered: it differs from the Genevan Version in leaving the literal rendering uncoloured by any expository notes[2]. And

[1] The French version of Réné Bénoist [Benedictus] is said to have no independent value.

[2] The most extreme form in which Calvinistic opinion appears in the translation of the Bible is in the French translation of 1588, which has been severely criticized by P. Coton in his *Genève plagiaire* in connexion with the other Genevan versions. One or two examples may be quoted:

Rom. v. 6 desnuez de toute force...du tout meschans.

—— x. 15 Sinon qu'il en ait qui soient envoyez.

Acts x. 34 qui s'addonne à justice (cf. Coton, p. 1614).

Phil. ii. 12 employez vouz à...(Coton, p. 1746).

John vi. 50 qui est descendu (Coton, p. 158).

——— 51 vivifiant (Coton, p. 174).

In all these places the English Genevan version is unobjectionable; but in other places an unfair bias appears:

Acts iii. 21 contain (cf. Coton, p. 255).

1 Cor. ix. 27 reproved (Coton, p. 1718).

1 Cor. iv. 6 that no man presume above that which is written (Coton, p. 1486).

And to this must be attributed the avoidance of the word 'tradition' in 1 Cor. xi. 1; 2 Thess. ii. 15; iii. 6.

One notable phrase at least has passed from the French through the

yet it is most worthy of notice that these two Versions representing as they do the opposite extremes of opinion contributed most largely of all to the changes which the revisers introduced.

The important use which was made of the Rhemish and Genevan Versions shews that the revisers did not hold themselves to be closely bound by the instructions which were given them. These versions were not contained in the list which they were directed to consult[1], and on the other hand the cases are comparatively rare when they go back from the text of the Bishops' Bible to an earlier English rendering. If indeed they had not interpreted liberally the license of judgment which was given them, they could not have accomplished their task. As it is, their work is itself a monument of the catholicity of their design.

An examination of the chapter of Isaiah which has been traced through the earlier versions will exhibit more clearly than a general description the method by which the revision was guided and the extent to which it was modified by the different authorities which the revisers consulted. The text of the Bishops' Bible is of course taken as the basis.

BISHOPS' BIBLE, 1568, 1572. 1 *But who* hath *given credence unto* our *preaching; or* to whom is the arm of
2 the Lord *known?* For he *did grow* before *the Lord like* as a *branch* and as a root *in* a dry ground: he hath *neither bounty* nor *favour; when* we *look upon* him there *shall be* no *fairness; we shall have no lust*
3 *unto* him. He is despised and *abhorred* of men: *he is such a man as hath good experience of sorrows and*

Genevan Bible into our own: Jerem. xvii. 9 Le cœur est cauteleux et désespérément malin sur toutes choses (cf. Coton, 1926).

[1] See p. 119.

infirmities: we have reckoned him so vile that we hid our faces from him. *Howbeit* he *only* hath *taken on him* our *infirmity* and *borne* our *pains:* yet we did *judge* him *as though he were plagued and cast down* of God. *Whereas* he [*notwithstanding*] was wounded for our *offences, and smitten* for our *wickedness: for the pain* of our *punishment* was *laid* upon him, and with his stripes *are we* healed. *As for us* we *are all* gone astray like sheep, every one *hath* turned his own way; *but* the Lord hath *thrown* upon him *all our sins.* He *suffered violence* and *was evil intreated, and did not open* his mouth. He *shall be led* as a *sheep* to *be slain, yet shall he be as still* as a *lamb* before *the shearer and not open* his mouth. From *the* prison *and* judgment *was he* taken, and *his* generation who *can* declare? For he was cut off *from the ground* of the living, *which punishment did go upon him* for the transgression of my people. His grave *was given him* with the *condemned,* and with the rich *man at* his death, *whereas* he *did never* violence *nor unright,* neither *hath there been* any deceit*fulness* in his mouth. Yet *hath* it pleased the Lord to *smite* him *with infirmity, that* when *he had made* his soul an offering for sin, he *might* see *long lasting* seed: and *this device* of the Lord shall prosper in his hand (hands 1602). Of the travail and labour of his soul *shall he see the fruit* and *be* satisfied. My righteous servant shall *with his* knowledge justify *the multitude,* for he shall bear their *sins.* Therefore will I *give* him *among* the great *ones his part,* and he shall divide the spoil with the *mighty,* because he *giveth over* his soul *to* death, and *is reckoned among* the transgressors; *which nevertheless hath taken away* the *sins* of *the multitude* and made intercession for the *misdoers.*

Chap. iii. Internal History.

1 *Who* hath *believed* our *report*[1] (will believe ou Genevan). *credidit* Pagninus. credit Treme
— *and* so G. P. Tr. (2)
— *revealed* so G. *revelatum est* P. revelatur
2 *shall grow up* before *him* as a *tender plant* (*sh* ...as a branch G.) (*tenera planta* Tr.) (4)
— *out of* a so G. Tr. (5)
— *no form* nor *comeliness* (neither *form* nor be *non ei forma neque decor* P. Tr. (6)
— *and when* we *shall see* him so G. (vidi quando intuemur Tr.) (7)
— there *is* no *beauty that we should desire* him. shall be no form *that...him* G.) et non *ut desideraremus eum* P. *non inest speci* Tr. (8)
3 *rejected* of so G. (abjectus inter viros I viris Arias Mont. abjectissimus virorum
— *a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief.* full of sorrows and hath exp. of infirmit *vir dolorum et expertus infirmitatem* (not tudine A. M.) P. otherwise Tr. (10)
— *and* we hid *as it were* our faces from him; *despised and we esteemed him not* so G. otherwise Tr., velut homo abscondens f nobis... (11)
4 *surely* he hath *borne* our *griefs* (infirmities guores Tr.) and *carried* our *sorrows* so G. T
— *esteem* him *stricken, smitten* of God, *and* (judge him as plagued, and *smitten* of humbled G.) et nos reputavimus eum pl percussum a Deo (Dei A. M.) et humiliatu *tum* Tr.) Tr. P. (13)

[1] The renderings given are those of the Authorised Version corresponding to the italicised text of the Bishops'

5 *But* he was... so G. (14)
— *transgressions* so G. (15)
— *he was bruised* (broken G.) for our *iniquities.* (so G.) (16)
— *the chastisement* of our *peace* was upon him G. P. Tr. (17)
— *we are* G. (18)
6 *All* we, like sheep, *have* gone astray G. (19)
— *we have turned* every one *to* his... G. (20)
— *and* G. (21)
— *laid* on (upon G.) him *the iniquity of us all* G. (P. Tr.) (22)
7 He *was oppressed* and *he was afflicted, yet he opened not* (did not open G.)...(so G.) (23)
— he *is brought* as a *lamb* (sheep G.) to *the slaughter, and* as a *sheep* before *her shearers* (shearer G.) *is dumb, so he openeth not...* (so G. Tr.) (ducetur... non aperiet P.) (24)
8 He *was taken* from (out from G.) prison *and from* judgment *and who shall* declare his generation (age G.) (so G. P. Tr.) (25)
— cut off (cut G.) *out of the land* of... (so G.) (26)
— for the tr. of m. p. *was he stricken* (plagued G.) (so G.) (27)
9 And *he made* (dedit P.) his grave with the *wicked.* G. Tr. P. (populus exposuit improbis sepulturam ipsius Tr.) (28)
— the rich *in...* G. (29)
— *because* he *had done no* violence... (though *he had done no* wickedness G.) eo quod non iniquitatem (injuriam A.M.) fecerit P. *eo quod non fecit violentiam...* Tr. (30)
— neither *was* any *deceit...* G. (31)
10 *Yet it pleased* the Lord to *bruise* him; *he* hath *put*

Chap. iii. Internal History.

him to grief: (yet the Lord would break hi
make him subject to infirmities G.) *Et D*
voluit contundere eum, aegrotare fecit P. si
Tr. (32)

10 when *thou shalt make* his... (when he shall
his... G.) (si posuerit seipsum pro delict
delictum A.M.) anima sua P.) (quandoq
exponebat se ipse sacrificium pro reatu dice
(33)

— *he shall* see *his* seed, *he* (and G.) *shall prolo*
days, and *the pleasure* (will G.) of... (so G.
(34)

11 *He shall see* of the travail of... and *shall be...*
(35)

— *by his* knowledge shall my righteous servant
many G. P. Tr. (36)

— *iniquities* G. P. (37)

12 *divide* (give G.) him *a portion with* the great.
G.) (in multis P. pro multis Tr.) (38)

— *strong* G. P. (39)

— *hath poured out...unto...* G. P. (Tr.) (40)

— *he was numbered* (counted G.) *with...* (so G.)
(41)

— *and he bare* the *sin* of *many...* so G. P. (Tr.

— *transgressors* (trespassers G.) (43)

Analysis of the changes.

Thus as far as the variations admit of being
to a numerical form about seven-eighths are due
Genevan Version, either alone or in agreement w
or both of the Latin Versions. Two renderings
to be due to Tremellius (4, 30): the same nu
Pagninus (10, 32), including the noble rendering
'of sorrows and acquainted with grief.' Three ti
Genevan translation is abandoned (30, 32, 3

Chap. iii. Internal History.

Since the rendering appears to be independent (33). But throughout the most delicate care is given to the choice of words, and there is scarcely a verse which does not bear witness to the wisdom and instinctive sense of fitness by which it was guided, e.g. 2 no *beauty*... (3 *a man of sorrows*...) 4 our *griefs*...*stricken*... 5 *bruised*... 7 as a *lamb*... 10 *put him to grief*... 12 *transgressors*. Even subtleties of rhythm are not to be disregarded, as 7 he *opened not*... 8 *from* prison... 12 *numbered*...; nor yet the endeavour after a more exact representation of the original, as 10 *he* shall... 12 *divide*...

General character of the revision.

The example which has been taken is undoubtedly an extreme one, but it only represents on an exaggerated scale the general relation in which the Authorised Version stands to the Genevan and Bishops' Bibles in the Prophetical books. In the Historical, and even in the Poetical books, it is far less divergent from the Bishops' Bible. In the Apocrypha it is, as far as I can judge, nearer to the Bishops' Bible than to the Genevan, but marked by many original changes. A passage from Wisdom, which has been already examined[1], will be sufficient to shew the character of the revision in this part of the Bible, and the independent freedom with which the reviser performed his work.

Wisdom vii.

BISHOPS' BIBLE, 1568—1572. 15 God hath granted me to speak *what my mind conceiveth* and to *think* as is meet for the things that are given me: *for* it is he that leadeth unto wisdom and *teacheth to use wisdom aright.*

16 For in his hand are both we and our words, *yea* all *our* wisdom and knowledge of [*his*] *works.*

17 For he hath given me *the true science* of the things

[1] p. 228.

that are, *so that I* know how the world was
and the *powers* of the elements:
18 the beginning, ending and midst of the time
the times alter, how one goeth after anothe
how they are fulfilled,
19 the *course of the year, the ordinances of the* stars
20 the natures of living *things, the furiousness* of
the *power of the* winds, *the imaginations* of m
diversities of *young* plants, *the* virtues of roo
21 and all such things as are either secret or m
them *have I learnt...*
27 And being [but] one, she (wisdom) can do all
and remaining in herself she *reneweth all,*
all ages of times entering into holy sou
maketh God's friends and prophets,
28 for God loveth none, *if he dwell not* with wisdc
29 For she is more beautiful than the sun and
more light than the stars, *and the day is n*
compared unto her.
30 For *upon the day* cometh night, but *wickedness*
overcome wisdom.

15 *what...conceiveth: as I would ex sententia* Jun
— *think: conceive* (Greek) (2)
— *for* G.: *because* (3)
— *teacheth...aright: directeth the wise.* (director
wise G.) (4)
16 *yea* all *our* wisdom: all wisdom *also* (5)
— [*his*] *works: workmanship* (opificiorum scientia
17 *the true science: certain knowledge cognitionem*
J. (7)
— *so that I* G.: *namely to* (8)
— *powers* G.: *operation* (Gr.?) (9)
18 *how...fulfilled: the alterations of the turning*

sun *and the change of seasons* (how the times alter *and the change of the seasons* G.) *solstitiorum mutationes* et *varietates temporum* J. (10)
course...of the: the circuits of years and the positions of: anni circuitus et stellarum situs J. (11)
things G.: *creatures* (12)
the...beasts G.: the *furies of wild* beasts (Gr.) (13)
power...the G.: *the violence of* (Gr.) (14)
the imaginations G.: *and the reasonings* (Gr.) (15)
young: om. so G. J. (Gr.) (16)
the: *and* the G. J. (Gr.) (17)
have I learnt: do I know G. J. (18)
reneweth all G.: *maketh all things new* (19)
maketh God's friends: maketh them *friends of God.* G. (*the f.*) (20)
if ... not G.: *but him that dwelleth nisi eum qui habitat* J. (Gr.) (21)
giveth...the: above all the order of (G. *is* above...*the* stars) (22)
and the...her: being compared with the light, she is found before it cum luce comparata prior esse deprehenditur J. (Gr.) (23)
upon the day: after this (24)
wickedness...overcome G.: *vice shall not prevail against sapientiæ non est prævalitura malitia* J. (25)

Of these changes three seem to be due to Junius (10, 11, 25) and perhaps four others (1, 6, 7, 23): two to the Genevan Version (4, 18), and perhaps two others (16, 17): the remainder are either linguistic (3, 5, 8, 12, 19) or closer renderings of the Greek (2, 9, 13—15, 20—22, 24).

The marginal renderings in Malachi

The marginal renderings offer a certain clue to the authorities on which the revisers chiefly relied; and an

Chap. iii. Internal History.

analysis of those given in Malachi fully confirm conclusions which have been already obtained.

Malachi i. 1 by: *Heb.* by the hand of.
5 from: *or* upon *Heb.* from upon.
7 ye offer: *or* bring unto &c. (1)
8 for sacrifice: *Heb.* to sacrifice.
9 God: *Heb.* the face of God.
— by your means: *Heb.* from your hand
— and ye have snuffed at it (Münster van: *or* whereas you might have bl away, quum id vel difflare possitis Ca quum exsufflare possitis illud Tremel
14 which hath in his flock (G.): *or* in flock is. (quum sit in grege ipsius T
ii. 3 corrupt (G.): *or* reprove increpabo Juda. (4)
— spread: scatter spargam M. J. (5
— *one* shall take you away with it: *or* i take you away with it. (et tollet v se M. Similarly Pagninus J.: oth G.) it shall take you with it Rhemis abripiat vos ad se T. (6)
8 stumble at the law: *or* fall in the la by...G.) (impingere in lege M. J.)
9 have been partial in (G.): *Heb.* ac faces, *or* lifted up the face against at faciem contra legem T. (8)
11 loved (G. and all except T.): *or* ou love amaturus fuerat T. (9)
12 the master and the scholar: *or* hin worketh and him that answereth, so (10)
15 residue: *or* excellency, so P. (11)

ii. 15 a godly seed: *Heb.* a seed of God.
— treacherously: *or* unfaithfully. (12)
16 that he hateth putting away (so Fr. 1588. Sibi odio esse dimissionem ait T.): *or* If he hate *her*, put *her* away (similarly P. M. J. C. G.). *Heb.* to put away. (13)
iii. 4 former: *or* ancient P. (14)
5 oppress: *or* defraud fraudant C. (15)
10 pour you out: *Heb.* empty out.
11 destroy: *Heb.* corrupt.
14 his ordinance: *Heb.* his observation.
— mournfully: *Heb.* in black.
15 are set up: *Heb.* are built.
17 jewels (mes plus précieux ioyaux Fr. 1588): *or* special treasure. peculium M. J. C. T. (16)

Thus of the sixteen alternative renderings four are found in Tremellius (2, 3, 8, 9), four in Münster with Leo Juda or Tremellius or both (5, 7, 10, 16), two in Pagninus (11, 14), one in Castalio (15), one in the Genevan (13), the Rhemish (6) and Leo Juda's Version (4) respectively; while two alone cannot be certainly referred to any one of these authorities (1, 12).

The revision of the New Testament.

The revision of the New Testament was a simpler work than that of the Old, and may be generally described as a careful examination of the Bishops' Version (1572) with the Greek text, and with Beza's, the Genevan, and the Rhemish Versions[1]. Examples of words derived from the Rhemish Version have been given already, but the use of this version is so remarkable that it may be well to add more unequivocal proofs of its reality. Thus

[1] See note at the end of the chapter for a collation of some chapters of the Bishops' Bible with the Authorised Version.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

Use of the Rhemish Version.

in the Epistle to the Romans the following phrases are found which are common, I believe, to the Rhemish and Authorised Versions alone; and it is impossible that the coincidences can have been accidental[1].

Rom.

i. 10 *if by any means*
— 13 I would *not have you ignorant*
— 23 *changed* the glory (so 25)
— 28 did not *like* (*liked* not Rh.)
ii. 5 *revelation* of the just j.
— 10 *glory, honour and peace to every* man *that worketh good*
— 13 *for not the hearers of the law are just*
— 15 *the work* of the law
iii. 7 *why* yet *am I also judged as a sinner*
v. 3 *and not only* so
— 15 *but not as the offence so also*
xi. 14 *provoke to emulation*
xii. 16 be not wise *in your own conceits*
xiii. 4 minister un*to thee for good*
— 8 owe *no man anything*

[1] Some of the phrases, it may be noticed, are found also in Wycliffe, and these may be taken to represent the amount of natural coincidences in two versions made independently from the Latin.

A still more certain proof of the influence of the Rhemish Version (Vulgate) on A. V. is found in changes of words and phrases in the earlier version which had been objected to by Romish controversialists. Thus, among renderings identical with, if not adopted from, those of the Rhemish Version in passages objected to by Martin, the following may be mentioned:

Matt. ii. 6 *rule.*
— xxvi. 26 *blessed.*
John ix. 22 *put out of the synagogue.*
Acts i. 26 *numbered with.*
— iii. 21 heaven must *receive* (so Bishops' 1575).
— xiv. 23 *ordained* (*for* ordained *by election*).
James v. 16 *confess.*
2 Cor. ii. 10 *person.*
— iv. 17 *worketh.*
2 Thess. ii. 15 *traditions.*
Tit. iii. 5 *regeneration* (so Bishops' 1575).
Hebr. xii. 23 *Church.*

Other passages objected to, as Eph. v. 5, Col. iii. 5, Tit. iii. 10, were altered already in the Genevan Version: others, as Tit. iii. 10, were altered independently in the Authorised Version.

The relation in which the different authorities stand to one another in the execution of the revision will appear from an analysis of the changes in a passage of moderate difficulty.

Hebrews xiii.

BISHOPS' BIBLE, 1572. 5 Let your conversation be without covetousness *being* content with such things as ye have. For he hath said I will *in no case* (*not* 1568) *fail* thee *neither* forsake thee.

6 So that we may boldly say the Lord is my helper and I will not fear what man *may* do unto me.

7 Remember them which have the *oversight of* you, *which* have spoken unto you the word of God, whose *end of conversation ye considering follow their faith.*

8 Jesus Christ *yesterday* and today and *the same* for ever.

9 Be not carried about with divers and strange doctrines, for it is a good thing that the heart be *stablished* with grace *and* not with meats, which have not profited them that have been occupied therein.

10 We have an altar whereof they have no right to eat which serve in the tabernacle.

11 For the bodies of those beasts whose blood is brought into the *holy place* by the high priest for sin are burnt without the *tents.*

12 *Therefore* Jesus also that he might sanctify the people with his own blood suffered without the gate.

13 Let us go forth therefore unto him *out of the tents,* bearing his reproach.

14 For here have we no continuing city, but we seek one to come.

15 By him therefore let us (*do we* 1568) offer *sacrifice* of *laud always to God,* that is the fruit of *lips confessing* his name.

16 *To do* good and to *distribute* forget not, for with su
sacrifice (*sacrifices* 1568) God is *pleased.*

5 *being: and be* Genevan (1)
— *not fail* G.: *never leave* (*not leave* Rhemish) (2)
— *neither* G.: *nor* (3)
6 *may: shall* Rh. *facturus est* Tremellius (can G.) (4
7 *oversight of* G.: *rule over* (gubernatorum Tr.) (5)
— *which* G.: *who* (6)
— *end...faith: whose faith follow considering the e*
of their conversation (whose f. f. c. *what hath be*
the end of their c. G.) (7)
8 yesterday: *the same* yesterday (G. R. different) (
— *the same:* omit (9)
9 *stablished* G.: *established* Rh. (10)
— *and* G.: omit, so Rh. (11)
11 *holy place* G.: *sanctuary sacrarium* Beza (12)
— *tents: camp* G. (13)
12 *therefore* G.: *wherefore quapropter* B. (14)
13 *out...tents: without the camp* Rh. (*out of the camp*
(15)
15 sacrifice: *the* sacrifice G. (16)
— *laud always* to God: *praise* to God *continually* (*pr*
always to God G. Rh.) (17)
— lips: *our* lips (*the* lips G.) (18)
— *confessing: giving thanks to* (*quæ gratias agunt*
(G. different) (19)
16 to do G.: *but* to do beneficentiæ *vero* B. (20)
— *distribute* G.: *communicate* (communication Rh.
(21)
— *sacrifice: sacrifices* Bishops' 1568 (22)
— pleased G.: *well* pleased (23)

Thus about seven changes are due to Beza (12

20) or the Genevan version (1, 7, 13, 16); nearly an equal number to the Rhemish (2, 4, 10, 11, 15, 21); two were perhaps suggested by Tremellius' version of the Syriac (5, 20); and seven are original, reckoning three linguistic variations (3, 6, 17).

The use of Beza's Version.

The chief influence of the Rhemish Version was on the vocabulary of the revisers, that of Beza and the Genevan Version on the interpretation. But still our revisers exercise an independent judgment both in points of language and construction. Thus in the latter respect they often follow Beza, rightly and wrongly, when the Genevan Versions do not; and again they fail to follow him where these had rightly adopted his rendering. In the former class such passages as these occur:

Mark xi. 17 called *of* all nations.
ab omnibus gentibus (*Beza*).

Rom. vii. 6 that being dead wherein...
mortuo eo in quo... (*Beza*).

Hebr. xi. 13 and *embraced* them.
postquam et *amplexi* fuissent (*Beza*).

1 John ii. 19 *they went out* that...
egressi sunt ex nobis ut... (*Beza*).

On the other hand the Authorised Version retains (by no means unfrequently) the old rendering of the Great Bible when it had been rightly corrected from Beza in the Genevan revisions:

Matt. xxviii. 14 if this come to the governor's ears.
come *before* the governor (Gt.) (if *the Governor hear of this* G. B).
periculum erat ne milites apud Pilatum *deferrentur* (*Beza note*).

Chap. iii. Internal History.

Act. xxviii. 4 *suffereth* not to live.
hath not suffered (*Gen.*) (non *sivit* (*Beza*)
vanda præteriti temporis significatio). (
1 John v. 4 *vicit.*
Eph. iv. 11 *blindness.*
hardness (*Gen.*).
obdurationem (*Beza*).
1 Pet. i. 17 If ye *call on the* Father...
If...ye *call him* Father... (*Gen.*).
Si patrem *cognominatis eum* qui... (*Beza*)

And still further, some right renderings of Be neglected both by the Genevan revisers and h own:

Mark vii. 4 *tables.*
lectorum (Beza: so Vulg.: *beds Wycl.* and
1 Tim. vi. 5 that *gain is godliness.*
quæstui esse pietatem (*Beza*)[1].

Analysis of various renderings in St Mark.

If we apply the same test as before and exami sources of the various renderings given in St Mar same authorities, as we have already noticed, rea and not disproportionately distributed.

Mark.

i. 4 for: unto Rhemish (1)
— 10 opened: cloven Genevan (2) *or* rent (se Fr. 1588) (3)
— 34 to speak because they knew him: to say tha knew him (to speak that Rh.) so Beza as native and Fr. (4)

[1] Archbp. Trench, to whom I owe the references to most of the examples just given, has collected some very instructive instances of improvements (p. 121): Hebr. iv. 1: Acts xii. 19 (Beza's note): John i. 3, 4: Acts i. 4 (Beza); and striking phrases (p. 37): Acts iii. 15; Hebr xii. 1. The list might easil creased. It is unfortunate th bp. Trench, like many other confounds the Genevan Test 1557 with the New Testam Genevan Bible.

l. 14 at the receipt of custom: at the place where the custom was received (au lieu du peage Fr.) (5)
— 21 new: raw Rh. (6) *or* unwrought (new and undressed Gt. escru Fr.) (7)
ii. 5 hardness: blindness Tyndale, Great Bible, Rh. (8)
— 10 pressed: rushed (Vulgate and Erasmus *irruerent*) (9)
— 19 into an house: home G. (10)
— 21 friends: kinsmen (kinsfolk G.) (11)
iv. 29 brought forth: ripe adolevit Castalio. (12)
vi. 19 a quarrel: an inward grudge (en auoit à lui Fr.) (13)
— 20 observed him: kept him Rh. (le gardoit en prison Fr. mg.) (14) *or* saved him (15)
— 27 an executioner: one of his guard (erant spiculatores principum: satellites Beza) (16)
— 45 unto Beth.: over against Beth. Beth. oppositam B. (17)
— 56 him: it (so B. as alternative) (18)
vii. 2 defiled: common Ty. &c. (19)
— 3 oft: diligently (summo studio B. note) *in the original* with the first: Theophylact [quoted by B.] up to the elbow. (20)
— 4 tables: beds Rh. B. (21)
— 9 reject: frustrate Rh. (22)
— 26 Greek: Gentile Rh. (23)
ix. 16 with them: among yourselves G. (24)
— 18 teareth him: dasheth him Rh. (25)
— 43, 47 offend thee: cause thee to offend G. (26)
x. 42 are accounted qui reputantur (Tremellius): think good (qui font estat Fr.) quibus placet B. (27)
— 52 made thee whole: saved thee Ty. &c. (28)
xi. 22 Have faith in God: have the faith *of* God (have *faith of God* Rh.) (29)

Chap. iii. Internal History.

xi. 29 question: thing Ty. &c. (30)
xiv. 3 spikenard: pure nard (nard that was pure...T. &c.) (31) *or* liquid nard (so B.) (32)
— 12 killed: sacrificed G. (33)
— 26 hymn: psalm (34)
— 72 he wept: he wept abundantly (35) *or* he began to weep Ty. &c. (36)
xvi. 14 at meat: together G. (37)

Thus of the thirty-seven alternative renderings nearly one-half agree with the Genevan Version (2, 7, 10, 11, 24, 26, 33, 37) or Beza's (3, 4, 16—18, 20, 21, 26, 32); six agree with the Rhemish Version (1, 6, 14, 22, 23, 25); three more or less with the French (3, 5, 13); six with the earlier English versions; one with Castalio (12); and one with the Vulgate (9).

General review of 1 John.

Once again: the examination of the first Epistle of St John will shew very fairly how far K. James' revisers generally availed themselves in the New Testament of earlier labours and how far they impressed a special character upon the Version. In six (four) places, if I reckon rightly, they have altered the construction of the text:

i. 3 'and *truly* our fellowship *is* with...'
for '*that* our fellowship *may be* with...'
(ii. 19 'they went out that they might be...' so Beza)
(ii. 29 '*ye know* that...' B.)
for '*know ye* that...' so *marg.* 'ye have known' (G.)
iii. 16 'Hereby perceive we the love of God, because...' (B.)
for 'hereby perceive we (have we perceived G.) love, that (because Great Bible)...

iv. 17 'Herein is our love (love with us *marg.* so B.) made perfect, that...'
for 'Herein is the love perfect in us, that...'

v. 6 'This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ...' (so B.)
for 'This Jesus Christ is he that came...' (Tyndale, G. B.)
or 'This is that Jesus Christ that came...' (G.)

The changes of words are far more frequent, and of these a large number introduce phrases identical with those used in the Rhemish Version. Examples occur i. 9 *confess* for [*ac*]*knowledge:* ii. 2 (iv. 10) 'he is the *propitiation for...*' for 'he *it is that obtaineth grace for...*': iv. 10 '*to make agreement for...*' (*propitiatio* Vulg.): ii. 17 'he that *doeth...*' for 'he that *fulfilleth...*': ii. 20 '*an unction*' for 'an *ointment*': ii. 26 *seduce* for *deceive* (*seducunt* Vulg.): ii. 28 (iii. 21, v. 14) 'have *confidence*' for '*be bold*' (*habeamus fiduciam* Vulg.): iii. 15 *murderer* for *manslayer:* v. 20 'an *understanding* that...' for '*a mind to...*' (*sensum ut* cognoscamus Vulg.)[1].

In other cases the revisers aimed at a more literal exactness, as in iii. 14 *have passed* for *are translated:* iv. 18 '*is made* perfect' for '*is* perfect': iii. 1 *bestowed* for *shewed:* iii. 9 '*doth not commit sin*' for '*sinneth not*': iii. 22 (article): v. 9, 10 (tense); or at consistency of rendering, as ii. 27 *abideth* (*dwelleth*): iii. 10 *manifest* (*known*)[2]; or at clearness, as ii. 24, iii. 8 '*that he might destroy* the works of the devil' for '*to loose...*' (iv. 3, v. 16); or at emphasis, as ii. 3 *do* know... Once an unhappy combination of renderings is attempted, iii. 17

[1] Other coincidences are found: ii. 8 *which thing...*: ii. 9 until *now...*: ii. 10 occasion of *stumbling* (marg. *scandal*): *(ii. 5)*: *iv. 15 shall* confess.

[2] The converse change of 'record' to 'witness' in v. 8 is quite inexplicable.

Chap. iii. Internal History.

'*Bowels of compassion...*' (*Bowels* Rh. *compassion* Tyn. &c.): once a neater word is introduced, iii. 3 *purified* (*purgeth*)[1].

This analysis, in which I have endeavoured to include all the variations introduced into the Authorised Version, will shew better than any description the watchful and far-reaching care with which the revisers fulfilled their work. No kind of emendation appears to have been neglected; and almost every change which they introduced was an improvement. They did not in every case carry out the principles by which they were generally directed; they left many things which might have been wisely modified; they paid no more attention than was commonly paid in their time to questions of reading[2]; but when every deduction is made for inconsistency of practice and inadequacy of method, the conclusion yet remains absolutely indisputable that their work issued in a version of the Bible better—because

[1] The substitution of 'torment' for 'painfulness' in iv. 18 is less completely successful: neither word renders κόλασις.

The scrupulous and watchful care with which the revisers worked is nowhere seen more remarkably than in their use of italics to mark the introduction of words not directly represented in the original. The detail may seem at first sight trivial, and Luther neglected it entirely; but in reality it involves much that is of moment. It is of importance as marking distinctly that the work is a translation; and yet more the use distinguishes in many cases an interpretation from a rendering: *e.g.* Hebr. x. 38. This question has been exhaustively treated by Dr Turton in his pamphlet on *The Text of the English Bible* (1833), who shews conclusively that the Cambridge text of 1638 bears clear marks of representing very exactly the true form of the Authorised Revision. In the use of italics it is far more consistent than the editions of 1611, which seem to have been hastily printed.

[2] I have given an account of the Greek text followed by the revisers in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, II. 524 n. But the question is of no real importance, as they do not appear to have been influenced by any consistent critical views, and the variations are too superficial to admit a general classification or discussion.

An examination of the headings of the chapters, the running headings, and the marginal references does not fall within my scope, though in itself interesting. Some remarks on these points will be found in a paper by Mr Kegan Paul in the *Theological Review* for 1869, pp. 99 ff.

faithful to the original—than any which had been in English before[1].

s impossible to enter here : question of the language of horised Version. Linguistic were common in each suc- revision, as has been already but it does not at once hat no archaisms were re- The following examples of ls contained in the Genevan

ii. 8 gard Genevan (girdle so Matthew, Bishops')
ii. 26 profited and grew M. G. Bp. (grew on)
xxv. 18 frailes (*mg.* clusters) G. Bp. bondelles M. (clusters lumps)
. 39 be lost and want G. be missed M. be missed or lost Bp. missing)
:. 24 plant G. soles M. step of my going Bp. (sole)
:vi. 23 base G. when we were brought low Bp. (low)
. 7 art beneficial G. (shalt deal bountifully)
cii. 6 in the trade of his way G. (in the way he should go. *mg.* iis way)
. 8 chapmen G. factors Bp. (traffickers)
35 diseasest Tyndale, Great Bible, G. Bp. (troublest)
41 disdain at Ty. G. B. G. Bp. (be much displeased with)
i. 42 quadrin G. (farthing Ty. G. B. Bp.)
v. 26 cause Ty. G. B. G. Bp. (accusation)
i. 35, 40 a grece Ty. a stair G. B. the greces G. (the stairs Bp.)
i. 15 made ourselves ready Ty. took up our burthens G. B. trussed up our fardels G. (took up our carriages)
v. 18 accusation Ty. G. B. Genevan Test. Bp. crime G.
v. 16 treasure Ty. G. B. commodity G. (good so Bp.)
c. 9 sparsed Ty. G. B. G. Bp. (dispersed so Bp. 1575)
ii. 17 pill Ty. G. B. G. Bp. (make a gain of)
herberous Ty. harberous G. a keeper of hospitality G. B. over of hospitality so Bp.)
v. 2 improve Ty. G. B. G. Bp. (reprove)
ii. 2 pight Ty. G. B. G. Bp. (pitched)
iv. 9 herberous Ty. G. B. G. Bp. (use hospitality) See above, . i. 8.

Bible and altered in A. V. are interesting. I am indebted for them to an anonymous [by the Rev. J. Gurnhill] Essay called *English retraced* (Cambridge, 1862), which contains many excellent criticisms on the English of the Genevan Version. The readings of A. V. are given in ( ). The other notation is as before.

valuable *Bible Word-Book* f Mr Eastwood and Mr Aldis furnishes an admirable found- r a study of the English of There can hardly be a more ve lesson in English than to their first appearance a num- he archaisms there noticed. ppear that not a few of them to K. James' revisers themselves and not to the earlier texts. The charges brought by the Rhemists against the language of the earlier English Versions are all summed up by Martin and met by Fulke, *Defence of the English translations*, pp. 218, 569 (ed. P. S.). The argument of Martin, it will be seen, loses all its point, when applied to the Authorised Version.

Chap. II. Internal History.

Note to p. 279.

The following selection of variations in some chapters of St Matt will give a fair idea of the relation of A. V. to the Bishops' Bible.

	Bishops' Bible, 1568, 1572.	A. V. 1611.
i.	18 The birth	Now the birth. Comp. vv. 21, ii. 1, 13; iii. 15; iv. 12; vii viii. 18; x. 2; xi. 2, &c.
—	— betrothed	espoused
	23 is by interpretation	being interpreted is
ii.	1 a city of Jewry	of Judæa
—	10 exceedingly with great joy	with exceeding great joy
—	12 after they were	being. Comp. v. 22; iv. 13, 21;
—	13 it will come to pass that Herod shall	Herod will
—	16 as many as were	from
—	— searched out	enquired
—	23 Nazarite	Nazarene
iii.	7 anger	wrath
—	9 be not of such mind that ye would	think not to
—	11 I baptize you in	I indeed baptize you with
—	16 [John] saw	he saw
iv.	10 avoid 1568: get thee hence behind me 1572	get thee hence
—	12 delivered up *mg.* that is, *cast in prison*	cast into prison
—	21 the ship	a ship. Comp. xiii. 2.
v.	6 satisfied	filled
—	10 which suffer persecution 1568: which have been persecuted 1572	which are persecuted
—	11 lying shall say all manner of evil saying against you	shall say all manner of evil a you falsely
—	12 be glad	be exceeding glad
—	22 unadvisedly	without a cause
—	44 hurt	despitefully use
—	47 singular thing do ye	do ye more than others
—	48 Ye shall therefore be	Be ye therefore
vi.	7 Babble not much much babbling's sake	use not vain repetitions much speaking
—	19 hoard	lay
—	25 Be not careful	take no thought, Comp. vv. 34.
—	28 weary not [themselves] with labour	toil not
—	29 royalty	glory
vii.	4 Suffer me, I will cast out a mote	Let me pull out the mote
—	24 of me these sayings	these sayings of mine. Comp
—	29 power	authority
viii.	7 when I come, I will	I will come and
—	11 rest	sit down

's' Bible, 1568, 1572.	Authorised Version, 1611.
hed headlong	ran violently down a steep place
ıe of	befallen to
ch but even his vesture	but touch his garment
ɔnly	
re destitute	fainted
ssess not	Provide neither
ier	more tolerable. Comp. xi. 22.
witness to	for a witness against
ir fathers and mothers	their parents
them to death	cause them to be put to death
le sparrows	sparrows. Comp. xi. 16; xv. 26
ıt	fall
ıck it [unto them]	take it by force
l wisdom is 1568: and wisdom was 1572	but wisdom is
s it thy good pleasure	it seemed good in thy sight
our	labour sore
en	heavy laden
ıe you	give you rest
ld	servant
ll delighteth	is well pleased
not this that	Is this the
the judgment	in judgment
rets	mysteries
ıt evil	the wicked one. Comp. v. 38.
malicious man	an enemy
ıke their nests	lodge
cious pearl	pearl of great price
meth this wisdom and powers (1568: mighty works 1572) unto him	hath this man this wisdom and these mighty works
ıtter	charger
the people depart	send the multitude away. Comp. xv. 32
nighty wind	the wind boisterous
the gift that [is offered]	It is a gift by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me
of me thou shalt be helped	
ery planting 1568: all manner planting 1572	every plant
rts	coasts
wring red	red and lowring
tward appearance	face
ıppy	Blessed. Comp. xi. 6.
ngregation	church
sus Christ	Jesus the Christ
ɔrd, favour thyself	Be it far from thee, Lord
ɔ after me	Get thee behind me
sake	deny
a ransom of	in exchange for
al	cure. Comp. v. 18
re occupied 1568: *re conversant 1572*	abode
ɔute or toll	custom or tribute
e of twenty pence	piece of money

CONCLUSION.

tep by step and in slow degrees, under every of influence, the English Bible assumed its pre- pe; and the record of its progress is still par- ewn in our public services. Among its other l memorials of the past, the Book of Common preserves clear traces of this eventful history. the scriptural translations which it contains are some are from the Great Bible, some from the sed Version. The Offertory sentences and the :able words' are not taken from any version, but idering of the Latin, made probably by Cranmer. ne independence is found in the Evangelic the *Benedictus*, the *Magnificat* and the *Nunc* which differ more or less from the Great Bible Authorised Version. But even here the labour ction was not neglected; for after their intro- into the first Prayer-Book of 1548 these Hymns borately revised in 1549 and again in 1552. So *Benedicite* was revised in 1549, and the burden ymn was altered throughout in 1552.

Psalms *Venite, Jubilate, Cantate, Deus mise-* gree almost literally with the Great Bible (April ough even in these there are traces of a minute

The Prayer Book contains traces of the three stages of translation.

Original renderings from the Vulgate.

Passages from the Great Bible

and careful revision; and the same remark holds true also of the Psalms in the Occasional Services[1].

The Psalter. But the great and enduring monument of the earlier Version of Coverdale and Cranmer is the Psalter itself, which had, as we have seen, become so completely identified with the expression of religious feeling that it was felt to be impossible to displace it[2]. When the last changes in the Prayer-Book were made it was found, it is said, smoother to sing; but this is not a full account of the matter, and it cannot be mere familiarity which gives to the Prayer-Book Psalter, with all its errors and imperfections, an incomparable tenderness and sweetness. Rather we may believe that in it we can yet find the spirit of him whose work it mainly is, full of humility and love, not heroic or creative, but patient to accomplish by God's help the task which had been set him to do, and therefore best in harmony with the tenour of our own daily lives.

Passages from the Authorised Version. But when the Psalter and the Hymns were left unaltered in 1662 the Introductory Sentences, and the Epistles and Gospels were at last taken from the Authorised Version. Up to that time the Epistles and Gospels had been printed from the Great Bible with a few, perhaps unintentional, discrepancies, and the Introductory Sentences, like those at present in the Communion Service, had been an original translation. Thus the cycle was completed, and each great stage in the history of our Bible represented in the Prayer-Book.

Historic characteristics of the Version. Whatever else may be thought of the story which has been thus imperfectly told, enough has been said to

[1] Two changes of tense are worthy of notice. In the *Cantate* (Ps. xcviii. 9) 'he *cometh*' is read for 'he is call.' *come;*' and in Ps. cxvi. 4 (The Churching of Women) 'I *found*,' 'I called' for 'I shall *find*,' and 'I *will*

[2] See p. 207.

shew that the history of the English Scriptures is, as was remarked by anticipation, unique. The other great vernacular versions of Europe are the works of single men, definitely stamped with their impress and bearing their names. A German writer somewhat contemptuously remarks that it took nearly a century to accomplish in England the work which Luther achieved in the fraction of a single life-time. The reproach is exactly our glory. Our version is the work of a Church and not of a man. Or rather it is a growth and not a work. Countless external influences, independent of the actual translators, contributed to mould it; and when it was fashioned the Christian instinct of the nation, touched, as we believe, by the Spirit of God, decided on its authority. But at the same time, as if to save us from that worship of the letter, which is the counterfeit of true and implicit devotion to the sacred text, the same original words are offered to us in other forms in our Prayer-Book, and thus the sanction of use is distinguished from the claim to finality. Our Bible in virtue of its past is capable of admitting revision, if need be, without violating its history. As it gathered into itself, during the hundred years in which it was forming, the treasures of manifold labours, so it still has the same assimilative power of life.

Compared with the Vulgate.

One Version only in old times, the Latin Vulgate, can in this respect be compared with it. This also was formed by private efforts silently and slowly till it was acknowledged by the acceptance of the Western Church. One supremely great man, Jerome, partly revised and partly renewed it, and by a strange coincidence even he could not displace the old Psalter which had been adopted for public use. But the English Bible has what the Latin Bible, as far as we know, had not. It has not

Crowned by martyrdom.

only the prerogative of vitality while the other has been definitely fixed in one shape, but it has also the seal of martyrdom upon it. In this too it differs from the other great modern versions. Luther defied his enemies to the last. Lefèvre in extreme old age mourned that when the opportunity was given him he had not been found worthy to give up his life for Christ. Calvin died sovereign at Geneva. But Tyndale, who gave us our first New Testament from the Greek, was strangled for his work at Vilvorde: Coverdale, who gave us our first printed Bible, narrowly escaped the stake by exile: Rogers, to whom we owe the multiform basis of our present Version, was the first victim of the Marian persecution: Cranmer, who has left us our Psalter, was at last blessed with a death of triumphant agony.

Words of the translators.

The work was crowned by martyrdom and the workmen laboured at it in the faith and with the love of martyrs. The solemn words in which they commend the Bible to their readers, the prayers which they offer for the spiritual enlightenment of their countrymen, the confessions which they make of their own insufficiency, have even now lost nothing of their eloquence. These are the moral of the story.

CRANMER.

'Every man,' writes Cranmer, 'that cometh to the 'reading of this holy Book ought to bring with him first 'and foremost [the] feare of almighty God, and then 'next a firm and stable purpose to reform his own self 'according thereunto, and so to continue, proceed and 'prosper from time to time, shewing himself to be a 'sober and a fruitful hearer and learner, which if he 'shall do he shall prove at length well able to teach, 'though not with his mouth, yet with his living and 'good example, which is sure the most lively and 'effectuous form and manner of teaching.'

COVERDAL

'As for the commendation of God's holy Scripture,' writes Coverdale, 'I would fain magnify it as it is worthy, but I am far insufficient thereto and therefore I thought it better for me to hold my tongue than with few words to praise or commend it; exhorting thee, most dear reader, so to love it, so to cleave unto it, and so to follow it in thy daily conversation, that other men seeing thy good works and the fruits of the Holy Ghost in thee may praise the Father of heaven and give this word a good report, for to live after the law of God and to lead a virtuous conversation is the greatest praise that thou canst give unto his doctrine...'

TYNDALE.

'I have here translated,' writes Tyndale, and these were his first words, 'brethren and sisters, most dear 'and tenderly beloved in Christ, the New Testament for 'your spiritual edifying, consolation and solace; exhort-'ing instantly and beseeching those that are better seen in 'the tongues than I, and that have higher gifts of grace 'to interpret the sense of the Scripture and meaning of 'the Spirit than I, to consider and ponder my labour 'and that with the spirit of meekness; and if they 'perceive in any places that I have not attained the 'very sense of the tongue r meaning of the Scripture, 'or have not given the right English word, that they 'put to their hands to amend it, remembering that *so is* '*their duty to do.* For we have not received the gifts of 'God for ourselves only or for to hide them; but for to 'bestow them unto the honouring of God and Christ 'and edifying of the congregation which is the Body of 'Christ.'

Preface to Authorised Version.

'It remaineth that we commend thee [gentle reader] 'to God and to the Spirit of His Grace, which is able to 'build further than we can ask or think. He removeth

'the scales from our eyes, the vail from our hearts,
'opening our wits that we may understand His word,
'enlarging our hearts, yea correcting our affections, that
'we may love it above gold and silver, yea that we may
'love it to the end. Ye are brought unto fountains of
'living water which ye digged not; do not cast earth
'into them with the Philistines, neither prefer broken
'pits before them with the wicked Jews. Others have
'laboured, and you may enter into their labours. O
'receive not so great things in vain: O despise not so
'great salvation.....It is a fearful thing to fall into the
'hands of the living God; but a blessed thing it is and
'will bring us to everlasting blessedness in the end,
'when God speaketh unto us, to hearken; when He
'setteth His word before us, to read it; when He
'stretcheth out His hand and calleth, to answer, Here
'am I, here we are to do Thy will, O God. The Lord
'work a care and conscience in us to know Him and
'serve Him, that we may be acknowledged of Him at
'the appearing of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, to whom
'with the Holy Ghost, be all praise and thanksgiving.
'Amen.'

APPENDICES.

I. Specimens of the earlier and later Wycliffite Versions.

II. Chronological list of Editions of Bibles and of parts of the Bible of critical importance in the History of the Authorised Version.

III. Collation of 1 John in the three texts of Tyndale.

IV. An Examination of the sources of Coverdale's Notes.

V. Specimens of the notes of Tyndale and Matthew.

VI. Specimens of the Latin-English Testaments of Coverdale.

VII. Passages from the Pentateuch and Historical Books in Tyndale, Coverdale, &c.

VIII. The relation of the Wickliffite to the later Versions.

IX. The Revision of the Authorised Version.

X. Phrases in the Psalms marked in the Psalter of the Great Bible as additions from the Vulgate.

APPENDIX I.

Specimens of the earlier and later Wycliffite Versions.

Ps. viii. 1.

WYCLIFFE.	VULGATE.	PURVEY.	
Lord oure Lord; hou myche meruei-lous is thi name in al the erthe	Domine Dominus noster, quam admi-rabile est nomen tuum in universa ter-ra!	Lord *thou art* oure Lord; thi name is ful wonderful in al erthe	
For rerid vp is thi grete doing ouer heuenes.	Quoniam elevata est magnificentia tua super cælos.	For thi greet doyng is reised aboue he-uenes	
Of the mouth of vnspekende childer and soukende thou performedist preis-ing, for thin enemys; that thou destroȝe the enemy and the ve-niere	Ex ore infantium et lactentium perfe-cisti laudem propter inimicos tuos, ut de-struas inimicum et ultorem.	Of the mouth of ȝonge children, not spekynge and souk-ynge mylk, thou ma-dist perfitli heriyng for thin enemyes; that thou destrie the enemy and avengere	2
For I shal see thin heuenes, the werkis of thi fingris; the mone and the sterris, that thou hast found-id.	Quoniam videbo cælos tuos, opera di-gitorum tuorum: lu-nam et stellas, quæ tu fundasti.	For Y schal se thin heuenes, the werkis of thi fyngris; the moone and sterris whiche thou haste foundid.	3
What is a man, that myndeful thou art of hym; or the	Quid est homo, quod memor es ejus? aut filius hominis,	What is a man that thou art myndeful of hym; ethir the sone	4

APPENDIX I.	WYCLIFFE.	VULGATE.	PURVEY.
	son of man, for thou visitest hym?	quoniam visitas eum?	of a virgyn, for thou visitist hym?
5	Thou lassedest hym a litil lasse fro aungelis; with glorie and worshipe thou crounedest hym, and settist hym ouer the werkis of thin hondys.	Minuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis, gloria et honore coronasti eum: et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum.	Thou hast maad hym a litil lesse than aungels; thou hast corouned hym with glorie and onour, and hast ordeyned hym aboue the werkis of thin hondis.
6	Alle thingus thou leidest vnder his feet,	Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus, oves	Thou hast maad suget alle thingis vndur hise feet; alle
7	Shep and oxen alle; ferthermor and the bestis of the feeld;	et boves universas: insuper et pecora campi;	scheep and oxis, ferthermore and the beestis of the feeld;
8	the foulis of heuene, and the fishis of the se; that thurȝgon the sties of the se.	volucres cæli, et pisces maris, qui perambulant semitas maris.	the briddis of the eir, and the fischis of the see; that passen bi the pathis of the see.
9	Lord, oure Lord; hou myche merueilous is thi name in al erthe.	Domine Dominus noster, quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra!	Lord, *thou art* oure Lord; thi name is wondurful in al erthe.
Eph. iv. 8.	For which thyng he seith He styȝinge into hiȝ, leḍde caitifte caytif, *or prysonynge prisoned*, he ȝaf ȝiftis to men	Propter quod dicit: Ascendens in altum captivam duxit captivitatem: dedit dona hominibus.	For which thing he seith He stiynge an hiȝ, ledde caitifte caitif, he ȝaf ȝiftis to men.
9	Forsoth that he assendide what is it, no but for he dessendide first into the lowere partis of the erthe?	Quod autem ascendit, quid est, nisi quia et descendit primum in inferiores partes terræ?	But what is it that he stiede vp, no but that also he cam doun first in to the lowere partis of the erthe?
10	He it is that cam	Qui descendit, ipse	He it is that cam

CLIFFE.	VULGATE.	PURVEY.		APPENDIX I.
ıd that sti- on alle he- at he schulde lle thingis	est et qui ascendit super omnes cælos, ut impleret omnia.	doun and that stiede on alle heuenes that he schulde fille alle thingis.		
he ȝaf sum- ıeli apostlis, forsoth pro- here forsothe stis, other schepherdis ıeris	Et ipse dedit quosdam quidem apostolos, quosdam autem prophetas, alios vero evangelistas, alios autem pastores et doctores.	And he ȝaf summe apostlis, summe prophetis, othere euangelistis, othere scheepherdis, and techeris,	11	
ful endynge tis into the mynisterie, ificacioun of ɔody,	ad consummationem sanctorum in opus ministerii, in ædificationem corporis Christi:	to the ful endyng of seyntis in to the werk of mynystrie, in to edificacioun of Cristis bodi	12	
rennen alle of feith and yne of Goddis nto a parfyt o the mesure ɔf the plente ;	donec occurramus omnes in unitatem fidei, et agnitionis Filii Dei, in virum perfectum, in mensuram ætatis plenitudinis Christi:	til we rennen alle in to vnyte of feith and of knowyng of Goddis sone, in to a parfit man, aftir the mesure of age of the plente of Crist ;	13	
we ben not ile children, e as wawis, borun aboute wynd of tech- the weyward- men, in sutil the disceyf errour.	ut jam non simus parvuli fluctuantes, et circumferamur omni vento doctrinæ in nequitia hominum, in astutia ad circumventionem erroris.	that we be not now litle children, mouynge as wawis, and be not borun aboute with ech wynd of teching, in the weiwardnesse of men, in sutil wit, to the disseyuyng of errour.	14	

APPENDIX II.

Chronological List of Editions of Bibles and of pa the Bible of critical importance in the History Authorised Version.

In the following list I have only included those e which have a direct literary bearing on the history of t thorised Version. It has no bibliographical object wh In foreign versions it has generally seemed sufficient to the *first* edition of each work. In the case of rare bo have indicated the copies which I have been allowed t The principal sources of the several English versions are in brackets.

Foreign Translations.

1516 Erasmus' first Edition of the Greek Testament with a new Latin Translation.

1520 The Complutensian Polyglott, Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek and Latin texts.

1522 ERASMUS' THIRD EDITION.

—— LUTHER'S GERMAN NEW TESTAMENT.

1523 LUTHER'S PENTATEUCH.

1524 LUTHER'S HISTORICAL AND POETICAL WORKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Foreign Translations.	*English Translations.*
ZURICH VERSION OF THE PROPHETS.	
	1525 Tyndale's New Testament in two shapes. [Erasmus' third edition, Luther].
-29. ZURICH VERSION finished.	
SANCTES PAGNINUS' Latin Version of the Bible.	
	1530 Tyndale's Pentateuch.
LUTHER'S VERSION finished.	
LUTHER'S BIBLE published.	1534 Tyndale's New Testament revised[1].
-5 SEB. MÜNSTER'S Latin Version of the Old Testament.	[First edition, Luther, Complutensian readings, Erasmus].
	—— Tyndale's Pentateuch revised.
Olivetan's French Version.	1535 Tyndale's New Testament again revised[2].
	1535 Coverdale's Bible[3].

The newe Testament dylygently
:ted and compared with the
e by Willyam Tindale and fy-
ed in the yere of oure Lorde
A. M. D. & xxxiiii in the moneth
uember.
print:
e newe Testament. Imprinted
nwerp by Marten Emperowr.
M.D.xxxiiij.
niv. Libr. & Trin. Coll. Cam-
e. Brit. Mus.]
he Newe Testament, dylygently
:ted and compared with the
e by Willyam Tindale: and fy-
ed in the yere of oure Lorde God
D. and xxxv.
imprint.
niv. Libr. Cambridge.]
he following are the title-pages of the different issues of the first edition of Coverdale's Bible.

(α) Biblia The Bible, that is, the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe. M.D.xxxv.

Imprint:

Prynted in the yeare of our Lorde M.D.xxxv. and fynished the fourth daye of October.

[Earl of Leicester. British Museum (not quite perfect).]

(β) Biblia The Byble: that is, the holy Scrypture of the Olde and New Testament, faythfully translated in to Englyshe. M.D.xxxv.

[Earl of Northampton.]

(γ) Biblia The Byble: that is, the holy Scrypture of the Olde and New

APPENDIX II.

English Translations.

[Vulgate, Luther, Zurich, Pagninus, Tyndale].

1536 Coverdale's Bible, second edition[1].

1537 Matthew's Bible[2].

[Tyndale, Coverdale].

1538 Coverdale's Latin-English Testaments.

1539 April. First Edition of the Great Bible[3].

[Matthew, Münster, Erasmus, Complutensian Polyglott].

1539 Taverner's Bible[4].

[Matthew's, Vulgate, Greek text].

1540 April. Second Edition of the Great Bible[5].

Testament, faythfully translated in to Englyshe. M.D.XXXVI.

[Earl of Jersey. Gloucester Cathedral Library.]

[1] Biblia The Byble, that is the holy Scrypture of the Olde and New Testament, faythfully translated in Englysh, and newly ouersene and corrected. M.D.XXXVII.

Imprynted in Sowthwarke for James Nycolson.

[Bristol Baptist College. British Museum (imperfect).]

[2] The Byble, which is all the holy Scripture: In which are contayned the Olde and Newe Testament truely and purely translated into English by Thomas Matthew... M,D,XXXVII.... Set forth with the Kinges most gracyous licece.

Imprint:

To the honoure and prayse of God was this Byble prynted and fynesshed, in the yere of oure Lorde God a, M,D,XXXVII.

[3] The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye the content of all the holy Scripture, both of y^e^ olde and newe testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke Textes, by y^e^ dylygent studye of dyverse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges... Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. 1539... Fynisshed in Apryll, Anno MCCCCCXXXIX. *A Dno factu est istud.*

[British Museum. Baptist College, Bristol.]

[4] The most sacred Bible, whiche is the holy scripture, conteyning the old and new testament, translated in to English, and newly recognised with great diligence after most faythful exemplars, by Richard Taverner. Prynted at London...by John Byddell, for Thomas Barthlet. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. M.D.XXXIX.

[5] The Byble in Englyshe...testament, with a prologe thereinto, made by the reverende father in God, Thomas archbyshop of Canterbury. This is the Byble apoynted to be

ign Translations.

JUDA'S Latin Version.
hens' third edition of
: Greek Testament (ed.
gia).
FALIO'S Latin Version.
i's Latin Version of the
ew Testament.

ised edition of the Bible
Olivetan.

English Translations.

[First Edition, Münster, Erasmus, Complut. Pol.].

1540 Nov. Fourth Edition of of the Great Bible[1].
[First and second editions.]

1557 Genevan Testament[2].
[Tyndale, Beza].

1560 Genevan Bible[3].
[Original texts, Great Bible, Leo Juda, Beza, French Version].

1568 The Bishops' Bible[4].
[Great Bible, Genevan Original texts, Castalio].

churches... Cum privi- aundemēt of the kynges hyghnes, by
:.D.XL.... Fynisshed in the ryghte reverende fathers in God
IO MCCCCC XL. *A Dno* Cuthbert bysshop of Duresme and
ud. Nicolas bisshop of Rochester... Cum
Museum. Baptist College, privilegio... 1541. Fynyshed in November anno MCCCCC XL. *A Dnō*

yble in Englyshe of the *factū est istud.*
greatest volume, auctoapoynted by the com- [British Museum.]
ite of oure moost redoubted [2] The New Testament of our Lord
Soueraygne Lorde Kynge Jesus Christ ... Printed by Conrad
: .viii. supreme heade of Badius M.D.LVII this X of June.
irche and Realme of Eng- [3] The Bible and Holy Scriptures
e frequented and used in conteyned in the olde and Newe
he wīn this his sayd realme Testament. Translated according to
to the tenour of his for- the Ebrue and Greke and compared
ions geven in that behalfe. with the best translations in diuers
id perused at the cōm- languages... at Geneva.... MDLX.
[4] The Holie Bible.

APPENDIX II.

Foreign Translations.	*English Translatio*
1572 ARIAS MONTANUS' Interlinear translation of the Hebrew text with Pagninus' Version.	1572 The Bishops' Bit cond edition. [First edition, Gre tament].
	1576 Tomson's revised G Testament. [Genevan Bible, Greek text].
1579 TREMELLIUS' Latin Version of the Old Testament, and version of the Syriac New Testament.	
1579 JUNIUS' Latin Version of of the Apocrypha.	
1582 Beza's third edition of the Greek Testament.	1582 Rhemish New ment[1]. [Genevan, Vulgate].
1588 FRENCH BIBLE revised by the Pastors at Geneva.	
1602 Cypr. de Valera's Spanish Version.	
1607 J. Diodati's Italian Version.	
	1609-10 Douai Old Testa [Genevan Vulgate].
	1611 Authorised Version. [Original texts, B Bible, Genevan, mish, Tremellius and earlier Latii sions].

[1] The New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated faithfully into English, out of the authentical Latin... 1582. Cum privilegio.

[2] The Holie Bible Faithfull lated into English out of the ticall Latin...Tom. I. MDCI II. MDCX.

APPENDIX III.

ollation of 1 *John in the editions of Tyndale's New Testament,* 1525, 1534, 1535.

The reading of Tyndale's revision of 1534 (T_2) is given first: that for which it is substituted is the reading of the original translation (T_1, 1525). Where the reading of the revision of 1535 (T_3) is not specified it agrees with T_2. When the reading of T_3 alone is given T_1 and T_2 agree against it.

i. 1 om. '*declare we unto you*' after 'beginning' (1)
T_3 om. '*concerning*' before '*which*' (33). So Matthew.
4 '*our* joy' for '*your* joy' (2)
7 '*Jesus* Christ' for 'Christ' (3)
8 'if we say' for 'if we *shall* say' (4)

ii. 1 'sin not' for '*should* not sin' (5)
— 'if—yet' for '*and* if—yet' (6)
2 T_3 '*your* sins' for '*our* sins' (34). Not Matthew.
3 'we *are sure*' for 'we *know*' (7)
— '*know* him' for '*have known* him' (8)
5 '*thereby*' for '*therein*' (9)
9 'the light' for 'the *true* light' (10)
11 T_3 '*the* darkness' for '*that* darkness' (35). So Matthew.

PENDIX III.

ii. 13 T_3 'ye *know*' twice for 'ye *have known*', and so (36). So Matthew.
17 T_3 'abideth *ever*' for 'abideth *for ever*' (37). So thew.
21 T_3 '*know* not' for '*knew* not' (Matthew) (38)
22 '*the same* is *the* Antichrist' for '*he* is Antichrist'

iii. 1 '*knoweth not* him' for '*hath not known* him' (12)
— T_3 'on *to* us' for '*on* us' (Matthew) (39)
2 '*doth* not *appear*' for '*hath* not *appeared*' (13)
4 '*for* sin is' for '*and* sin is' (14)
11 'that *we* should' for 'that *ye* should', which is a T_3 (15)
15 T_3 '*hate*' for '*hateth*' (Matthew) (40)
16 'and *therefore*' for 'and' (16)
— 'ought we' for 'we ought' (17)
17 '*have need*' for '*in necessity*' (18)
18 T_3 'with *the* deed' for 'with deed' (41). So thew.
19 '*for thereby*' for '*and hereby*' (19)
— '*can* before him *quiet* our hearts' for '*will* before *put* our hearts *out of doubt*' (20)
20 '*But*' for '*for*' (21)
21 'Beloved' for '*tenderly* beloved': comp. iv. 1, 7, 11
24 '*thereby*' for '*hereby*' (23)

iv. 1 '*Ye* beloved' for '*Dearly* beloved' (24)
— T_3 'or *not*' for 'or *no*' (42). So Matthew.
3 T_3 '*that* confesseth' for '*which* confesseth' (43) Matthew.
5 '*and* therefore' for 'therefore' (25)
— T_3 '*that* world' for '*the* world' (Matthew) (44)
7 'Beloved' for '*Dearly* beloved' so iv. 11 (26)
8 '*knoweth* not' for '*hath* not *known*' (27)
20 '*hate*' for '*hateth*' (28)
— '*for* how' for 'how' (29)

1 [T_3 'that Jesus Christ' for 'Jesus *is* Christ' (Matthew)] (45)

7 'for there'...'are one.' In smaller type and in brackets. In T_3 the words are in ( ). In the first edition no difference is marked (30)

8 '*For*' for '*And*' (31)

15 '*desire*' for '*desired*' (32)

In this list 1, 4, 5, 10, 11, 18, 22, 24, 26, 29 are closer renderings of the Greek text.

On the other hand 6, 9, 14, 16, 19, 21, 22, 25, 31 are instances of the abandonment of the more literal renderings in order (as it seems) to bring out the argument with greater distinctness.

The aorist which was first rendered by a perfect form is rendered by an indefinite present in 8, 12, 13, 27: a mode of rendering adopted for the perfect in 32. The first change in 7 seems to be a consequence of the second to avoid repetition.

An error of grammar is corrected in 28, and an improvement of rhythm is introduced in 17.

Two false readings are corrected in 3, 15; and a new reading adopted in 2. The spurious passage in v. 7 is marked (30).

The changes are more frequently away from Luther than to Luther; but it is impossible not to think that Luther suggested the longest change of rendering (20), for which he has 'dass wir—*können* unser Herz vor ihm *stillen*.'

Of the renderings first introduced in 1535 three are improved translations (33, 35, 38): two are worse renderings for emphasis (41, 44): one is a false reading (34): one is a substitution (as before) of an indefinite present for a perfect (36): two appear to be indifferent (42, 43): four are probably misprints (37, 39, 40, 45).

In the Epistle to the Ephesians the changes generally are

APPENDIX III.

of the same character. Two of these very worthy of notice have influenced our present text, of which one is the singularly beautiful '*making melody* in your hearts' (v. 19) for '*playing*': and the other the strange substitution of 'which before *believed* in Christ' (i. 12) for 'before *hoped* in Christ', which is altered into 'trusted' in A. V.

APPENDIX IV.

An Examination of the sources of the Notes in Coverdale's Bible of 1535.

12[1] Some call it *Schoham.* So Zurich (1)

18 to *bear him company*
Some read: to *stand next by him*
Luther: *die um ihn sei*
Zurich: *der jm zu nächst beystande*
Pagninus: quod sit coram eo
Tyndale: to *bear him company*
Vulgate: simile sibi (2)

6 A pleasant tree *to make wise*
Some read: *while it made wise*
L. *weil er klug machte*
Z. dieweil er k. m.
P. concupiscibilis arbor ad intelligendum
T. a pleasant tree for *to make wise*
V. aspectu delectabile (3)

16 *thy lust shall pertain unto* thy husband
Some read: *Thou shalt bow down thyself before* thy husband (probably from Aben Ezra quoted by Münster).

In some cases I have given only Versions from which Coverdale's lerings are derived: in others I e thought it worth while to add illel renderings for comparison and contrast. Simply explanatory notes are neglected, as 2 Sam. xvi. 22, 1 K. ii. 7 are neglected; and one or two others, but the list of various renderings is nearly complete.

APPENDIX IV.

L. dein wille soll deinem manne unterworfen sein
Z. *zu deinem mann deine gelust* oder begierd
P. ad virum tuum erit desiderium tuum
T. *thy lusts shall pertain unto* thy husband
V. sub viri potestate eris (4)

Gen.

iv. 7 *shall he then be* subdued unto thee? *and wilt thou* *him?*
Some read: *Let it be* subdued unto thee and *rule tho*
L. Lass du ihr nicht ihren willen, sondern *herrsche* *sie*
Z. *Stadt dann sein aufsehen zu dir vnd wilt über herrschen?*
P. in te erit appetitus ejus et dominaberis ei
T. *Let it be* subdued unto thee and see thou *rule it*
V. sub te erit appetitus ejus et dominaberis illius (

viii. 7 came again
Some read: came *not* again
so Vulgate (6)

xi. 2 *toward* the East (L)
Some read: *from* the East
so Vulgate (7)

xvii. 2 I am the *Almighty* God (L. P. V.)
Some read: I am the God *Schadai* (*that is plenteou* *power, abundant, sufficient and full of all good*)
so Z. (*das ist ein vollmächtiger, vnnd ein überflüs* *genugsame vnnd volle alles gutenn*) (8)

xviii. 10 about this time twelvemonth, *if I live,...*
Some read: *as soon as the fruit can live*
L. *so ich lebe*
Z. as Luther
P. revertar ad te secundum tempus vitæ
T. *as soon as the fruit can live*
V. Revertens veniam ad te tempore isto, vita mite (9)

. 4 bury my corpse *by me*
Some read: my corpse *that lieth before me*
L. *der vor mir liegt*
Z. *mein leych bey mir* (10)

. 31 thou *blessed* of the Lord (L. P. V.)
Some read: *beloved*
Z. *du geliebter* (11)

25 that my *soul may bless thee* (L. P. V.)
that my *heart may wish thee good*
Z. das *ich von hertzen dir guts wünsche* (12)

.. 1 *blessed* (L. P. V.)
Some read: *talked lovingly with*
Z. *redt freüntlich mit jm* (13)

.. 19 *an hundred pence* (So L., Z. *um hundert groschen*)
Some read: *an hundred lambs* (So V. P.) (14)

44 called him *Zaphnath Paena*
that is *An expounder of secret things*, or *A man to whom secret things are opened*
L. *den heimlichen Rath*
Z. Zaphnath Paena (15)
P. *vir cui abscondita revelata sunt*, vel *absconditorum expositor*
V. *Salvatorem mundi*

16 have I *stirred thee up.* (So L. *habe ich dich erweckt*) *Ex.*
Some read: I have *holden* thee up
Z. *hab ich dich aufrecht behalten* (16)
P. *Stare feci te*
V. *posui te*

15 *This is man* (So L. Z. *Das ist man* P.)
Some read: *What is this?* (So V.) (17)

15 the Lord Nissi (L.)
that is: the Lord is he that raiseth me up
P. dominus elevatio mea (18)

APPENDIX IV.

Ex. xxix. 28 in their *dead offerings*
Some call *the peace offerings*
L. *an ihren dankopfern*
Z. an jren *todopffern* (19)
P. De sacrificiis *pacificorum suorum*
V. *de victimis eorum pacificis*

Josh. iii. 15 full of all manner of waters of the *land*
Some read: *of the harvest*
Z. voll an allen seinen gstaden *von allerley gewä. der erden* (20)
P. *omnibus diebus messis*
V. *tempore messis* (So Luth.)

Ruth iii. 3 *muffle* thee
Some read: *anoint* thee
Z. *verhülle* dich (21)
P. *unge te*

1 Sam. xxiii. 28 Sela Mahelkoth (L.)
The rock of *parting asunder*
P. petra *divisionis* (22)

2 Sam. viii. 18 *priests* (So V. L. Z.)
Some read: *rulers*
V. P. *principes* (23)

2 Kings xxv. 6 And *he gave* judgment *upon him*
Some read: And *they talked with him of* judgment
L. sie sprachen ein urtheil über ihn
Z. *sy redtend mit jm vom rechten*
P. *locuti sunt cum eo judicium*
Matthew, they reasoned with him (24)

2 Chron. vii. 20 root *you* out
Some read: *them*
L. sie auswurzeln
Z. *sy auszwurtzlen*
P. evellam *eos*
V. evellam vos (25)

Nehem.

10 so madest thou *thee* a name
Some read: *them*
Z. *jnenn* (26)

Psalms

—7 These three verses are not in the Hebrew (27)

. (xxxvii.) 21 *The ungodly borroweth and payeth not again*
(So V. L. Z. P.)
Some read thus: *The ungodly lendeth upon usury and not for naught* (28)

. (xl.) 7 but *a body hast thou ordained me* (Hebr. x. 5)
Some read thus: but *mine ears hast thou opened* (So L. Z.)
P. *aures fodisti mihi* (29)
V. *aures autem perfecisti mihi*

Amos

7 *a mason's trowel*
Some call it *a line*
Z. ein *maurerkellen*
P. *perpendiculum* (30)

Malachi

14 So did not the one
This the interpreters reckon to be spoken of Abraham
L. Also that der einige nicht
Z. er hat nit allein einen menschen gemachet
P. nec unus quidem *Abraham* fecit ut facitis (31)

4 Esdr.

52 as touching *the* life
Some read: *my* life
Z. *dein* läbenn (32)
V. de vita *tua*

1 the head
Read: I saw, and behold
Z. do hab ich gesehen (33)

55 receive *reward*
Some read: *no reward* (34)

APPENDIX IV.

Tobit

i. 14 having ten talents of *silver* (V.)
Some read: ten talents of *gold*
Z. zähennt Talent *golds* (35)

iiii. 10 delivereth from death
Some read: from *all sin and from death*
P. ab *omni peccato et a* morte (36)

xii. 6 shewed his mercy unto *us* (P. Z.)
Some read: unto *you* (37)

Ecclus.

iii. 23 curious in many of *his* works (P.)
Some read: *thy* works
Z. *deiner* wercken (38)

xxxiii. 15 there are ever two against *two* (P)
Some read: two against *one*
Z. zwey gegen *einen* (39)

2 Macc.

ii. 13 writings of *Jeremy*
Some read: *Nehemias*
Z. *Jeremie*
P. *Nehemiah*

xii. 43 *two* thousand drachmas (40)
Some read: *twelve* thousand
Z. zweytausent (41)
P. *duodecim* milia

Matt.

i. 8 before they *came together*
Some read: before they *sat at home together*
L. ehe er sie heimholete
Z. *ee sy miteinanderen zu hausz sassend* (42)
Erasmus: priusquam congressi fuissent
Tyndale (ed. 2): came *to dwell* together

ix. 11 *less* (T_2)
Some read: *least*
L. der *kleinste* (43)

Matt.

13 that *the* son of man *is*
Some read: that *I the* son of man *am* (T_2)
L. *dasz des Menschen Sohn sey* (44)

25 *exercise power* (T_2)
Some read: *deal with violence*
L. *haben gewalt* (45)

25 *excess* (T_2)
Some read: *uncleanness*
L. Fraszes
Z. *unreyns* (46)
P. injustitia
E. intemperantia

7 a box with precious *ointment*
Some read: a *glass with precious water*
L. *ein glas mit köstlichem Wasser* (47)
T_2 an *alabaster* box of p. o.

Mark

11 in whom I *delight* (T_2)
Some read: in whom I *am well pacified*
L. *an dem ich Wohlgefallen habe* (48)

21 he *taketh too much upon him*
Some read: he *will go out of his wit*
L. *er wird von Sinnen kommen*
Z. *Er thut jm zu vil* (49)
P. in stuporem versus est
E. in furorem v. est
T_2 he had been beside himself

9 *councils* (T_2)
Some read: *council-houses*
L. *Rathäuser* (50)

Acts

40 she sat *her down again*
Some read: she sat *up* (T_2)
L. *setzte sie sich wieder* (51)

APPENDIX IV.

Acts

xv. 3 *conversation*
Some read: *conversion* (T_2)
L. *Wandel* (52)

xvii. 18 (new) *gods*
Some read: *devils* (T_2)
L. *Götter* (53)

Rom.

iii. 28 by faith (T_2)
Some read: by faith *only*
L. *allein durch den glauben* (54)

x. 17 by *hearing* (T_2)
Some read: by *preaching*
L. aus der *Predigt* (55)

Thus of the whole number (55) of alternative renderings only five (4? 28, 32, 34, 37) cannot be referred directly to their source; and of the corresponding readings adopted in the text only two (24, 32). Of these one alternative reading (28) is very remarkable and may have come from the Zurich glosses which I have been unable to see. Of the other alternative readings ten (3, 5, 10, 43, 47—50, 54, 55) agree with Luther: sixteen (1, 2, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 24—6, 33, 35, 38—9, 42, 46) with the Zurich version: ten with Pagninus (18, 15, 21—3, 30—1, 36, 40—1): six with the Vulgate (6, 7, 14, 18—20); and six with Tyndale (9, 44—5, 51—3). Of these the most remarkable coincidences with Luther are 3, 10, 47, 54, 55, with the Zurich Version, 8, 42, with Pagninus 16, 31, with Tyndale 9, 52, 53. Of the readings adopted the most singular are 17 (Luther) and 10, 19, 20 (Zurich).

Nothing could sum up the internal history of Coverdale's Bible more accurately than this analysis.

APPENDIX V.

Specimens of Notes from Tyndale and Matthew.

Matt. i. 18.

Tyndale, 1525. Jesus is as much to say as a Saver (sic); for he only saveth all men from their sins by his merits, without their deserving.

Tyndale, 1534. *None.*

Matthew. Messiah: it signifieth anointed. Jesus Christ then is the earnest and pledge of God's promise, by whom the grace and favour of God is promised to us with the Holy Ghost, which illumineth, lighteth, reneweth our hearts to fulfil the law.

ii. 1.

Tyndale, 1525. Of Matthew they are called Magi, and in certain countries in the East philosophers, cunning in natural causes and effects, and also the priests were so called.

Tyndale, 1534. *None.*

Matthew. These were neither kings nor princes, but, as Strabo saith (which was in their time), sage men among the Persians as Moses was among the Hebrews: he saith also that they were the priests of the Persians.

iii. 9.

Tyndale, 1525. Put your trust in God's words (sic) only and not in Abraham. Let saints be an ensample unto you,

APPENDIX V.

and not your trust and confidence: for then ye make Christ of them.

Tyndale, 1534. *None.*

Matthew. *None.*

vi. 34. Tyndale, 1525. Trouble is the daily labour. He will it be enough that we labour daily without further care.

Tyndale, 1534. *None.*

Matthew. It is commanded us in the sweat of our face to win our bread: that travail must we daily, diligently, and earnestly do, but not be careful what profit shall come unto us thereof, for that were to care for to-morrow. We must therefore commit that to God, which is ready to prosper our labours with His blessing, and that abundantly, so that most shall we profit when we are least careful.

x. 42. Tyndale, 1525. Compare deed to deed, so is one greater than another; but compare them to God, so are they all like, and one as good as another; even as the spirit moveth a man, and time and occasion giveth.

Tyndale, 1534. Covenants.

Matthew. *None.*

xv. 9—13. Tyndale, 1525. Traditions of men must fail at the last. God's word bideth ever.

Tyndale, 1534. Men's precepts. What defileth a man. Plants. Blind leaders. With what a man is defiled.

Matthew v. 13. Origen and Chrysostom understand this of the Pharisees because of their evil opinions. Hilarius and Erasmus understand it of men's traditions.

xvii. 21. Tyndale, 1525. Strong faith requireth fervent prayer; and prayer requireth fasting to subdue the body, that lusts unquiet not a man's mind.

Tyndale, 1534. Prayer and fasting.

Matthew. *None.*

xx. 8—12. Tyndale, 1525. By this similitude may ye perceive that no similitude serveth throughout; but some one thing contained

the similitude; as this long parable pertaineth but hereunto, that work-holy shall despise weak sinners, which same work-holy shall not there have their reward, as these which come first have here; but shall be reject and put away, because they challenge it of merit and not of mercy and grace.

Tyndale, 1534. v. 5. The Jews reckon one when the sun goeth up an hour.

Matthew. None.

we say *we* have not sinned, we make him a liar and his word is not in us.

v. 1 *that* which (3) Nycolson. Hollybushe
eyen N.
beholden N. H.
concerning Regnault. *of* N. H. (*de* Vulgate).

2 *is manifest* N. H.
testify N. R. H.
everlasting N. R. (vitam æternam V.)
by N. H.
appeared N. H.

3 *Even* that R. (Quod vidimus V.)
have heard N. H.
do we shew N. H.
be N. H.

4 *these things* N. R. (*hæc* V.)
do I write N.
ye may rejoice and (*that* R.) *your* N. (R.) (ut gaudeatis et gaudium vestrum V.)

5 that N. H.
do shew N. H.
there is no darkness in him N. H.

6 walk N. R.

7 *as he also* N. R. (*sicut et ipse* V.)
we have N. H.
his son Jesus Christ N. H.

8 *do say* N. H.

9 *if* N. R.
righteous that he do N. H.
cleanse N. H.
wickedness N. H.

APPENDIX VI.

10 *do say* N. H.
that we N. R. (*quoniam* V.)

1 *John v. 16—end.*

16 *If any man see* his brother *sin* a sin not unto death, let him ask and *he shall give him life for them* that *sin* not unto death. There is a sin unto death, *for the which say I not* that *a* man should pray. 17 *All unrighteousness* is sin, and there is *sin not* unto death. 18 We know that *whosoever* is born of God *sinneth not*, but *he that is begotten* of God keepeth *himself* and *that* wicked toucheth him not. 19 We know that we are of God and the *world* is set *altogether* on *wickedness*. 20 *But* we know that the Son of God is come and hath given us *a mind to* know *him which is true*, and *we are in him that is true, in his Son Jesus Christ. This* is the true God and everlasting life. 21 *Babes* keep *yourselves* from images. *Amen.*

16 *He that knoweth* N. R. H.
to sin N. R.
life shall be given unto him that sinneth (*sinning* N. H.) (N.) R. (H.)
I say not that *any* man should (*do* N.) pray *for that* (N.) R. H.

17 *every wickedness* N. H.
a sin N. R. H. omit *not* N. R. H.

18 *every one that* N. H.
doth not sin N. R. H.
the generation N. R. H.
him N. R. H.
the N. R. H.

19 the *whole* world is set on (*in* N.) mischief (N.) R. H.

20 *and* N. R. H.
understanding that we may N. R. H.
the true God N. R. H.

we are N. H.) *in his true son* (N.) R. (H.)
(this N. H.) *same* (N. R. H.)

tle children N. H.
N. R. H.
Amen N. R. H.

APPENDIX VII.

Collation of Passages from the Pentateuch and Historical Books in Tyndale, Coverdale, Matthew, the Great Bible, the Bishops' Bible, and the Genevan Bible.

APPENDIX VII.

Ex. xv. 1, 2.

COVERDALE. *I will* sing unto the Lord, for he *hath done gloriously:* horse and *chariot* hath he overthrown in the sea.

The Lord is my strength and my song, and is become my salvation.

This is my God: I will *magnify* Him. He is my father's God: I will *exalt Him.*

ZURICH VERSION. Ich wil dem Herren Singē, danⁿ er hat herrlich gehandlet, rossz vnnd wagen hat er gestürtzt ins Meer.

Der Herr ist mein stercke vⁿ lobgesang, vnd ist mein helffer worden.

Das ist mein Gott, ich will jn beherbergen. Er ist meines vatters Gott, ich will jn erheben[1].

[1] Luther's Version with the Latin Version of the Wittenberg Bible may be added for comparison:

Ich will dem Herrn singen; denn er hat eine herrliche That gethan, Ross und Wagen hat er ins Meer gestürtzet.

Der Herr ist meine Stärke und Lobgesang, und ist mein Heil, Das ist mein Gott, ich will ihn preisen; er ist meines Vaters Gott, ich will ihn erheben.

In the Wittenberg Bible the passage runs:

Cantemus Domino, gloriose enim *egit*, equum et ascensorem dejecit in mare.

Fortitudo mea et *carmen meum* Dominus, *qui* factus est mihi in salutem.

Iste *est* Deus meus et *ornabo* eum, Deus patris mei et exaltabo eum.

This is nearer to the Vulgate than to Luther, and differs from it only in the italicized words.

TYNDALE (1534). *Let us* sing unto the Lord, for he *is become glorious, the* horse and *him that rode upon him* hath he overthrown in the sea.

The Lord is my strength and my song and is become my salvation.

He is my God *and* I will *glorify* him. He is my fathers God *and* I will *lift him up on high*[1].

MATTHEW agrees verbally with TYNDALE.

TAVERNER agrees verbally with TYNDALE.

GREAT BIBLE (1539, 1540, 1541). I will.. hath *triumphed* gloriously: the horse and him that rode upon him...my strength and *praise* and *he* is...He is...glorify him: my Fathers GOD, and I will exalt him.

[MÜNSTER. ...*triumphando* magnifice egit...Fortitudo mea et *laus* Dominus, *factusque est*... Iste Deus meus et *decorabo* eum: Deus patris mei et exaltabo eum.]

GENEVA. I will...hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and him that rode upon him.

The Lord *is* (ital.)...praise and he is...He is...*prepare him a tabernacle:* he *is* (ital.)...exalt him.

BISHOPS' agrees verbally with GREAT BIBLE.

COVERDALE And Moses said Hereby *shall ye* know that the LORD hath sent me to do all these works and that I have not done them of mine own *heart.* If these men die the common death of all men, or be visited *as all men are visited,* then *hath not the* LORD sent me. But if the LORD make a new thing and the earth open her mouth and swallow them *with* all *that they have* so that they go down quick into hell, then *shall ye know* that

LUTHER. Und Mose sprach: Dabei sollt ihr merken, dass mich der Herr gesandt hat, dass ich alle diese Werke that, und nicht aus meinem Herzen. Werden sie sterben wie alle Menschen sterben, oder heimgesucht, wie alle Menschen heimgesucht werden, so hat mich der Herr nicht gesandt. Wird aber der Herr etwas Neues schaffen, dass die Erde ihren Mund aufthut und verschlinget sie mit allem das sie haben, dass sie lebendig

Num. xvi. 28—30.

[1] *The italics mark* variations between Tyndale and Coverdale.

APPENDIX VII.

these men have ***blasphemed*** the LORD.

hinunter in die Hölle fahren, so werdet ihr erkennen dass diese Leute den Herrn gelästert haben[1].

TYNDALE. And Moses said: Hereby *ye shall* know that the Lord hath sent me to do all these works and that I have not done them of mine own *mind*. If these men die the common death of all men, or *if they* be visited *after the visitation of all men*, then the Lord hath not sent me. But *and* if the Lord make a new thing, and the earth open her mouth and swallow them *and* all that *pertain unto them*, so that they go down quick into hell, then ye shall *understand* that these men have *railed upon* the Lord.

MATTHEW agrees verbally with TYNDALE.

TAVERNER agrees verbally with TYNDALE except in reading 'of mine own *head*': 'but if' (*om.* and).

GREAT BIBLE (1539, 1540, 1541) agrees with Tyndale except: swallow them *up* with all that they have *and* they go ...*provoked.*

A note is indicated (in 1539, 1540) by ☞ to 'visited.'

[MÜNSTER. devoraverit eos una cum omnibus quæ habent et descenderint...: *irritarint*...dominum.]

GENEVA. for *I have* (ital.) not *done them* (ital.)...: the Lord (*om.* then): but if: swallow...go down quick into *the pit.*

BISHOPS' agrees with GREAT BIBLE except in reading: 'for 'I have not done them' (Gen.): 'into *the pit*' (Gen.).

Josh. xxiv. 26.

COVERDALE. And Josua wrote *this act* in the book of the law of GOD, and took a great stone and *set* it *up there* under an oak *which was* in the sanctuary of the LORD, and said unto

LUTHER. Und Josua schrieb dies alles ins Gesetzbuch Gottes, und nahm einen grossen Stein und richtete ihn auf daselbst unter einer Eiche, die bei dem Heiligthum des Herrn war, und

[1] The Wittenberg Bible differs from the Vulgate only by rendering *non ex proprio ex corde protulerim*, and by adding *viri isti* after *blasphemaverint*. The Swiss Bible simply *universa opera hæc et non ex proprio corde* for *universa quæ cernitis* et differs by dialectic peculiarities.

all the people, Behold this stone shall be witness *over you*, for it hath heard all the words of the LORD, which he *hath spoken unto* us, *and* shall be a witness *over* you *that ye deny not* your GOD. So Josua let the people *go* every *one* to his inheritance.

sprach zum ganzen Volke: Siehe, dieser Stein soll Zeuge sein zwischen uns, denn er hat gehöret alle Rede des Herrn, die er mit uns geredet hat, und soll ein Zeuge über euch sein, dass ihr euren Gott nicht verleugnet. Also liess Josua das Volk einen jeglichen in sein Erbtheil[1].

MATTHEW. [TYNDALE]. And Josua wrote *these words* in the book of the law of God, and took a great stone and *pitched* it *on end in the said place, even* under an oak *that stood* in the sanctuary of the Lord. And *Josua* said unto all the people, Behold this stone shall be *a* witness *unto us*, for it hath heard all the words of the Lord which He *spake with us*. *It* shall be *therefore* a witness *unto* you, *lest ye lie unto* your God. *And* so Josua let the people *depart* every *man unto* his inheritance. *Josh. xxiv.* 26—28.

TAVERNER agrees verbally with [TYNDALE] MATTHEW except in reading: 'spake with *you*': 'lest that after this time ye will deny and lie unto your God' (Vulg. see below).

GREAT BIBLE (1539, 1540, 1541) agrees with TYNDALE except by reading (1) 'that *was*' and (2) 'lest *ye deny** (*and dissemble with*).'

[MÜNSTER. (1) quæ *erat* (2) ne forte *abnegare velitis* deum vestrum (*Vulg.* ne forte postea neque velitis et mentiri Domino Deo vestro)].

GENEVA agrees with TYNDALE except by reading: pitched it *there:* that *was:* a witness *against* you: lest ye deny your God: *Then* Joshua.

BISHOPS' agrees with GREAT BIBLE exactly, only omitting the added clause '*and dissemble with.*'

COVERDALE. There were two men in one city, *the one* rich, *the*

LUTHER. Es waren zwei Männer in einer Stadt, einer *2 Sam. xii.* 1—5.

[1] The Wittenberg Bible differs from the Vulgate only in reading *grandem* (pergrandem), *audivit* (audierit), and *locutus est nobis et erit testis* (loc. est vobis).

The Swiss Bible has the following significant variations:— ...schreyb *disen handel*... die *inn* dem Heyligthumb... zeüg *über euch sein*...

APPENDIX VII.

other poor. The rich *man* had *very many* sheep and oxen, but the poor *man* had nothing save one little *sheep* which he *had* bought and nourished *it, so that* it grew up with him and his children *together. It* eat of his *bread* and drank of his cup and slept in his *lap*, and *he held it* as *a* daughter. *But when* there came a stranger unto the rich man he *spared* to take of his own sheep *and* oxen (to *prepare ought* for the stranger that was come unto him) *and* took the poor man's *sheep*, and *prepared* it for the man that was come unto him. *Then was* David wroth *with great displeasure against that* man and said unto Nathan As *truly* as the LORD liveth the *man* that hath done this is the child of death.

reich der andere arm. Der Reiche hatte sehr viele Schafe und Rinder, aber der Arme hatte nichts, denn ein einiges kleines Schäflein, das er gekauft hatte; und er nährte es dass es gross ward bei ihm und bei seinen Kindern zugleich, es ass von seinem Bissen und trank von seinem Becher, und schlief in seinem Schosse, und er hielt es wie eine Tochter. Da aber dem reichen Manne ein Gast kam, schonete er zu nehmen von seinen Schafen und Rindern, dass er dem Gaste etwas zurichtete, der zu ihm gekommen war, und nahm das Schaf des armen Mannes und richtete es zu dem Manne der zu ihm gekommen war. Da ergrimmte David mit grossem Zorn wider den Mann und sprach zu Nathan: So wahr der Herr lebet, der Mann ist ein Kind des Todes, der das gethan hat[1].

MATTHEW [TYNDALE]. There were two men in one city, *a* (1) rich and *a* (1) poor. *And* the rich (2) had *exceeding great abundance of* (3) sheep and oxen. But the poor had nothing save one little *lamb* (4) which he bought (5) and nourished *up*. *And* it grew up with him and his children (6) *and did* eat of his *own meat* and drank of his *own* cup, and slept in his *bosom* and *was as dear unto him* as *his* daughter (7). *And* there came a stranger unto the rich man. *And* he *could not find in*

[1] The Wittenberg Bible agrees with the Vulgate, except in reading *et creverat* (om. quæ), *ut pararet* (*ut exhiberet*), and in one or two transpositions, &c. which are probably various readings of the Vulgate text. The Swiss text has only two unimportant verbal differences.

his heart to take of his own sheep *nor of his beasts* (3) to *dress* for the stranger that was come unto him. *But* took the poor man's *lamb* (4) and *dressed* it for the man that was come to him. *And* David *was exceeding* wroth *with the* man and said to Nathan As *surely* as the Lord liveth the *fellow* (9) that hath done this *thing* is the child of death...

TAVERNER agrees verbally with Matthew except by reading: to *make* of his own (error): to *prepare* for the s.: is *worthy of death.*

GREAT BIBLE (1539, 1540, 1541) agrees with TYNDALE except (1) *the one—the other* (Cov.): (2) *The* rich *man* (C): (3) exceeding many: (4) sheep (C): (5) had b. (C): (6) *with* his ch. *also:* (7) was unto him as his d.: (8) *and of his own* oxen: (9) *man.* Before 'the child of death' stands (in 1539, 1540) a ☞ to indicate an intended note, such as is given in Matthew.

[MÜNSTER. (1) *unus—alter* (2) *Dives* (3) *multos valde* (4) *ovis* (5) *emerat* (6) *apud* filios ejus *pariter* (7) *eratque ei quasi filia* (8) *atque de bobus suis.*]

GENEVA agrees with the GREAT BIBLE except in reading: had *none at all:* his own *morsels: now* there came: *who refused* to take: as the Lord liveth: *shall surely die.*

BISHOPS' agrees with the GREAT BIBLE except in reading: he *spared* to take: as the Lord liveth (Gen.).

To the phrase 'The child of death' a note is added: 'that is *shall surely die*' (Gen.).

APPENDIX VIII.

The Relation of the Wickliffite to the later Versions.

APPENDIX VIII.

The History of our English Bible begins with the work of Tyndale and not with that of Wycliffe. Every step in the descent of our present Authorised Version from Tyndale's first New Testament and Matthew's composite Old Testament and Apocrypha, is clearly made out; but neither Tyndale's nor Coverdale's translation has any direct filiation on Wycliffe's. As far as Tyndale is concerned, his own explicit statement leaves no room even for raising the question: 'Them that 'are learned christianly I beseech, forasmuch as I am sure 'and my conscience beareth me record that of a pure intent, 'singly and faithfully, I have interpreted it [the New Testa-'ment] as far forth as God gave me the gift of knowledge and 'understanding, that the rudeness of the work now at the 'first time offend them not; but that they consider how that '*I had no man to counterfeit, neither was helped with English* '*of any that had interpreted the same or such like thing in the* '*scripture beforetime.*' And on the other hand Coverdale is equally explicit (see p. 168) as to the sources from which he himself derived help for his first great work. At the same time the words of Tyndale imply that he knew of the Wycliffite versions (nor could it have been otherwise), and admit the supposition that he had used them, though he deliberately ided that he could not (1) 'counterfeit' them, that is follow

their general plan, as being a secondary translation only, or (2) adopt their language. It is possible however that some of the earlier renderings may have obtained a traditional currency, and in this way have affected Tyndale's or Coverdale's own work. But coincidences which can be referred to this origin are very rare in Tyndale, and the fact that they are much more frequent in Coverdale's Latin-English Testaments appears to shew that they were really due to the immediate influence of the Vulgate and not to the Wycliffite translation of it.

A few specimens will place the relations between the earlier and later works in a clear light.

PURVEY.	TYNDALE.	
3 Blessed be poor men in spirit, for the kingdom of heavens is theirs.	3 Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.	*Matt. v.* 3—9.
5 Blessed be mild men, for they shall wield the earth.	4 Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted.	
4 Blessed be they that mourn, for they shall be comforted.	5 Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.	
6 Blessed be they that hunger and thirst righteousness, for they shall be fulfilled.	6 Blessed are they which hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be filled.	
7 Blessed be merciful men, for they shall get mercy.	7 Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.	
8 Blessed be they that be of clean heart, for they shall see GOD.	8 Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see GOD.	
9 Blessed be peaceable men, for they shall be cleped GOD'S children.	9 Blessed are the peacemakers, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.	
9 Our Father that art in heavens, hallowed be Thy name;	9 O our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name.	*Matt. vi.* 9—13.
10 Thy kingdom come to; be Thy will done in earth as in heaven;	10 Let Thy kingdom come. Thy will be fulfilled, as well in earth as it is in heaven.	

APPENDIX VIII.

PURVEY.	TYNDALE.
11 Give to us this day our bread over other substance;	11 Give us this day our daily bread.
12 And forgive to us our debts, as we forgive to our debtors.	12 And forgive us our trespasses, even as we forgive our trespassers.
13 And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen.	13 And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory for ever. Amen.
Matt. vii. 24—27. 24 Therefore each man that heareth these my words and doeth them, shall be made like to a wise man that hath built his house on a stone;	24 Whosoever heareth of me these sayings and doeth the same, I will liken him unto a wise man which built his house on a rock;
25 And rain fell down, and floods came, and winds blew and rushed into that house, and it fell not down, for it was founded on a stone.	25 And abundance of rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew and beat upon that same house, and it fell not, because it was grounded on the rock.
26 And every man that heareth these my words: and doeth them not, is like to a fool, that hath built his house on gravel;	26 And whosoever heareth of me these sayings and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man which built his house upon the sand;
27 And rain came down and floods came and winds blew and they hurled against that house, and it fell down, and the falling down thereof was great.	27 And abundance of rain descended, and the floods came and the winds blew and beat upon that house, and it fell, and great was the fall of it.

In the whole of the Sermon on the Mount I have only noted the following coincidences in which the Wycliffite rendering may have suggested that of Tyndale:

7, 3 little mote W. (*festucam*)	: mote T.
— 6 all to tear you	all to rend you T.
— 16 briars W. (*tribolis*)	briars T.
— 23 knowledge to W.	knowledge unto T.

the whole of the first Epistle of St John I have observed ıe coincidence in any way remarkable: 3, 15 *manslayer* , a common rendering which recurs in 1 Tim. i. 9 (so . V.), while elsewhere Tyndale uses *murderers*, and sometimes *manslayer* and sometimes *mankiller*. The ıces on the other hand are very striking:

PURVEY.	TYNDALE.	
vorld shall pass, and the : of it, but he that doeth of GOD dwelleth with-	The world vanisheth away, and the lust thereof, but he that doeth the will of GOD abideth for ever.	1 *John ii.* 17.
man that dwelleth in ıneth not, and each that seeth not Him, neither ïim.	As many as bide in Him sin not: whosoever sinneth hath not seen Him neither hath known Him.	*iii.* 6.
hat wot that his brother a sin not to death, ask life shall be given to him neth not to death. There to death, not for it I say y man pray.	If any man see his brother sin a sin that is not unto death, let him ask, and He shall give him life for them that sin not unto death. There is a sin unto death, for which say I not that a man should pray.	*v.* 16.

the Epistles of St Paul the differences between Purvey yndale are even greater. Thus the only two striking ; common to them in Romans viii., *travaileth with pain* W., *travaileth in pain* T.) and *tribulation and anguish* seem to be due to the Latin *parturit* (συνωδίνει) and *'io an angustia.*

omparison of the Wycliffite versions of Ps. viii. given in with the same Psalm in the Prayer-Book Psalter will ıe wide difference between the Old Versions and Cover- vork.

APPENDIX IX.

The Revision of the Authorised Version.

The question of the revision of the 'Authorised V
of the Bible was discussed more or less seriously at
times after the abortive attempt under the Commonwea
p. 124), but did not take any practical shape till the
generation. It is unnecessary to notice here the c
private attempts at revision, which at least kept the w
for a more complete solution of the problem and fu
materials for the work. The question assumed a new cl
when at length in the year 1870 it was brought be
Convocation of the Province of Canterbury. On Fe
the Bishop of Winchester (S. Wilberforce) submitted the
ing motion to the Upper House: 'That a Committee
'Houses be appointed, with power to confer with an
'mittee that may be appointed by the Convocation
'Northern Province, to report upon the desirableness
'vision of the Authorized Version of the New Te
'whether by marginal notes or otherwise, in all those
'where plain and clear errors, whether in the Heb
'or Greek text originally adopted by the translators, c
'translation made from the same, shall, on due inves
'be found to exist[1].'

[1] *Chronicles of Convocation*, 1870, motion of a wider scope, o
p. 74. The words 'Hebrew or' seem cipation of the motion as
to be either a relic of an original amended.

In the course of the discussion which followed, the Bishop of Llandaff (A. Ollivant) proposed to include the Old Testament in the scope of the inquiry; and the motion was agreed to with the addition of the words 'Old and' before 'New Testaments.' Upon this the Bishops of Winchester, Bath and Wells (Lord A. C. Hervey), St David's (C. Thirlwall), Llandaff, Gloucester and Bristol (C. J. Ellicott), Ely (E. H. Browne), Lincoln (Chr. Wordsworth) and Salisbury (G. Moberly) were appointed members of the Committee to represent the Upper House. The resolution was at once communicated to the Lower House; and the following members of that House were nominated to serve upon the Joint Committee. The Prolocutor (E. Bickersteth), the Deans of Canterbury (H. Alford), Lincoln (J. A. Jeremie) and Westminster (A. P. Stanley), the Archdeacons of Bedford (H. J. Rose), Exeter (P. Freeman) and Rochester (A. Grant), Chancellor Massingberd, Canons Blakesley, How, Selwyn, Swainson, Woodgate, Drs Kay and Jebb and Mr De Winton.

The Convocation of York, however, declined to meet the advances of the Southern Province. A resolution was adopted by that body in which they stated that 'although blemishes existed in [the text of the Authorized Version] such 'as had from time to time been pointed out, yet they 'would deplore any recasting of the text. [They did not] 'accordingly think it necessary to appoint a Committee to 'co-operate with the Committee appointed by the Convocation of Canterbury, though favourable to the errors being 'corrected[1].'

In spite of this disappointment the Committee of the Convocation of Canterbury proceeded with their work.

On May 3rd, 1870, a report which 'was unanimously agreed 'to by all the members of the Committee who were present' was laid before the Upper House by the Bishop of Winchester

[1] *Chronicles of Convocation*, p. 210.

APPENDIX IX.

and before the Lower House by the Prolocutor[1]. This report was embodied in the following resolutions:

1. 'That it is desirable that a revision of the Authorized 'Version of the Holy Scriptures be undertaken.

2. 'That the revision be so conducted as to comprise 'both marginal renderings and such emendations as it may 'be found necessary to insert in the text of the Authorized 'Version.

3. 'That in the above resolutions we do not contemplate 'any new translation of the Bible, or any alteration of the 'language, except when in the judgment of the most competent 'scholars such change is necessary.

4. 'That in such necessary changes, the style of the lan- 'guage employed in the existing version be closely followed.

5. 'That it is desirable that Convocation should nominate 'a body of its own members to undertake the work of revision, 'who shall be at liberty to invite the cooperation of any emi- 'nent for scholarship, to whatever nation or religious body 'they may belong.'

This report was adopted in the Upper House without any amendment having been proposed; and it was at once resolved, without any opposition, 'That a committee be now appointed 'to consider and report to Convocation *a scheme of revision* 'on the principles laid down in the report now adopted.

'That the Bishops of Winchester, St David's, Llandaff, 'Gloucester and Bristol, Salisbury, Ely, Lincoln, and Bath and 'Wells be members of the Committee.

'That the Lower House be directed to appoint an equal 'number from their own body as members of the Committee[2].

'That the Committee be empowered to invite the cooper- 'ation of those whom they may judge fit from their Biblical 'Scholarship to aid them in their work.'

[1] *Chronicles of Convocation*, pp. 209 ff., 234 f., 328 ff.

[2] *Ib.* pp. 227 ff., 269 f. In the first place referred to the third paragraph does not appear, and there is no indication in the published records of Convocation as to its introduction into the resolution agreed to by the Upper House.

These resolutions were communicated to the Lower House on the same day; and the report and resolutions were discussed in that House on May 5th. Various amendments were proposed to the different sections of the report, but met with little support, and the report was adopted without change. There was, however, considerable opposition to the direction which fixed the representatives of the Lower House at the same number as those of the Upper House. It was urged that the usual practice of Convocation with respect to joint Committees, according to which the Lower House is represented in the proportion of two of its members to one of the Upper House, ought to be observed in this case. A resolution embodying this opinion was communicated to the Upper House, which however again affirmed its judgment, still leaving to the Lower House the power of asking for a larger number of representatives, if after this second expression of opinion they thought it well to do so. The subject was again debated in the Lower House, but it was finally decided, by 27 voices to 25, to accept the number suggested by the Upper House. On this the Prolocutor, in virtue of his office, nominated the following members of the House to act on the joint Committee: the Prolocutor [apart from all other considerations 'it was judged necessary for the Prolocutor to be on the Committee'], the Dean of Canterbury, the Dean of Westminster, the Archdeacon of Bedford, Canon Selwyn, Canon Blakesley, Dr Jebb (Canon of Hereford), and Dr Kay.

In the course of the debates some doubt was expressed as to the exact duty of the joint Committee which was described by the phrase 'considering and reporting *a scheme of revision*.' The phrase was interpreted by some as if it were equivalent to drawing up a plan for making a revision; but this interpretation was overruled. It was laid down that 'the scheme of revision' necessarily included those changes by the adoption of which it was proposed that the revision should be carried out[1].

[1] *Chronicles of Convocation*, p. 400 ff.

APPENDIX IX.

At this point then the action of Convocation as to the work of revision was for a time ended. Thenceforward the joint Committee had to carry out on their own responsibility the instructions which they had received, and whenever 'the scheme of revision' is completed they will present it with their report to Convocation according to the laws of that body. It will then rest with Convocation to adopt or reject or modify 'the scheme of revision' offered to them.

The Committee lost no time in carrying out the work with which they were entrusted. 'At the first meeting [May 25th, '1870] the following Resolutions and Rules were agreed to, as 'the fundamental principles on which the Revision is to be 'conducted:

'RESOLVED,—

'I. That the Committee, appointed by the Convocation of Canterbury at its last Session, separate itself into two Companies, the one for the revision of the Authorized Version of the Old Testament, the other for the revision of the Authorized Version of the New Testament.

'II. That the Company for the revision of the Authorized Version of the Old Testament consist of the Bishops of St Davids, Llandaff, Ely, Lincoln, and Bath and Wells, and of the following Members from the Lower House, Archdeacon Rose, Canon Selwyn, Dr Jebb, and Dr Kay.

'III. That the Company for the revision of the Authorized Version of the New Testament consist of the Bishops of Winchester, Gloucester and Bristol, and Salisbury, and of the following Members from the Lower House, the Prolocutor, the Deans of Canterbury and Westminster, and Canon Blakesley.

'IV. That the first portion of the work to be undertaken by the Old Testament Company, be the revision of the Authorized Version of the Pentateuch.

'V. That the first portion of the work to be undertaken by the New Testament Company, be the revision of the Authorized Version of the Synoptical Gospels.

'VI. That the following Scholars and Divines be invited to join the Old Testament Company:—

Alexander, Dr. W. L.[1]	Harrison, Archdeacon[10]
Chenery, Professor[2]	Leathes, Professor[11]
Cook, Canon[3]	M'Gill, Professor[12]
Davidson, Professor A. B.[4]	Payne Smith, Canon[13]
Davies, Dr B.[5]	Perowne, Professor J. S.[14]
Fairbairn, Professor[6]	Plumptre, Professor[15]
Field, Rev. F.[7]	Pusey, Canon[16]
Ginsburg, Dr[8]	Wright, Dr (British Museum)[17]
Gotch, Dr[9]	Wright, W. A. (Cambridge)[18]

'VII. That the following Scholars and Divines be invited to join the New Testament Company:—

Angus, Dr[19]	Hort, Rev. F. J. A.[21]
Dublin, Archbishop of	Humphry, Rev. W. G.[22]
Eadie, Dr[20]	Kennedy, Canon[23]

[1] Professor of Theology to the Congregationalists of Scotland.
[2] Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic, Oxford.
[3] Canon of Exeter.
[4] Professor in the Baptist College, Regent's Park, London.
[5] One of the Tutors at the Baptist College, Regent's Park.
[6] Principal of the Free Church College, Glasgow.
[7] Formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Editor of the *Hexapla of Origen*, &c.
[8] Translator and Editor of *Ecclesiastes*, &c.
[9] Principal of the Baptist College, Bristol.
[10] Archdeacon of Maidstone.
[11] Professor of Hebrew in King's College, London.
[12] Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of St Andrews.
[13] Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford. [Dean of Canterbury, 1871.]
[14] Canon of Llandaff: Professor of Hebrew and Vice-Principal of St David's College, Lampeter. [Prælector in Divinity, Trinity College, Cambridge, 1872.]
[15] Formerly Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford. Professor in Divinity, King's College, London.
[16] Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford.
[17] [Professor of Arabic, Cambridge, 1870.]
[18] Bursar (formerly Librarian) of Trinity College, Cambridge.
[19] President of the Baptist College, Regent's Park, London.
[20] Professor of Biblical Literature in the Divinity Hall of the United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow.
[21] Formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. [Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1872.]
[22] Formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Rector of St Martin's in the Fields.
[23] Canon of Ely and Regius Professor of Greek, Cambridge.

APPENDIX IX.

Lee, Archdeacon[1]
Lightfoot, Dr[2]
Milligan, Professor[3]
Moulton, Professor[4]
Newman, Dr J. H.[5]
Newth, Professor[6]
Roberts, Dr A.[7]
Smith, Rev. G. Vance[8]
Scott, Dr (Balliol Coll.)[9]
Scrivener, Rev. F.[10]
Tregelles, Dr[11]
Vaughan, Dr[12]
Westcott, Canon[13]

'VIII. That the General Principles to be followed by both Companies be as follows:—

1. To introduce as few alterations as possible into the Text of the Authorized Version consistently with faithfulness.

2. To limit, as far as possible, the expressions of such alterations to the language of the Authorized and earlier English versions.

3. Each Company to go twice over the portion to be revised, once provisionally, the second time finally, and on principles of voting as hereinafter is provided.

4. That the Text to be adopted be that for which the evidence is decidedly preponderating; and that when the Text so adopted differs from that from which the Authorized Version was made, the alteration be indicated in the margin.

5. To make or retain no change in the Text on the second final revision by each Company, except *two-thirds* of those present approve of the same, but on the first revision to decide by simple majorities.

[1] Archdeacon of Dublin. Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity in the University of Dublin.

[2] Fellow of Trinity College, and Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. [Canon of St Paul's, 1871.]

[3] Professor of Biblical Criticism, Aberdeen.

[4] Professor of Classics, Wesleyan College, Richmond.

[5] Formerly Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.

[6] Professor of Classics, New College, London [Principal 1872].

[7] Professor of Humanity, St Andrews [1871].

[8] Minister of St Saviour's-gate Chapel, York.

[9] Master of Balliol College, and Professor of Exegesis, Oxford. [Dean of Rochester, 1870.]

[10] Editor of the *Codex Bezæ*, &c.

[11] Editor of the New Testament in the original Greek.

[12] Formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Master of the Temple.

[13] Canon of Peterborough. [Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, 1870.]

6. In every case of proposed alteration that may have given rise to discussion, to defer the voting thereupon till the next Meeting, whensoever the same shall be required by one-third of those present at the Meeting, such intended vote to be announced in the notice for the next Meeting.

7. To revise the headings of chapters, pages, paragraphs, italics, and punctuation.

8. To refer, on the part of each Company, when considered desirable, to Divines, Scholars, and Literary Men, whether at home or abroad, for their opinions.

'IX. That the work of each Company be communicated to the other as it is completed, in order that there may be as little deviation from uniformity in language as posrible.

'X. That the Special or Bye-rules for each Company be as follows:—

1. To make all corrections in writing previous to the Meeting.

2. To place all the corrections due to textual considerations on the left hand margin, and all other corrections on the right hand margin.

3. To transmit to the Chairman, in case of being unable to attend, the corrections proposed in the portion agreed upon for consideration.

S. WINTON, *Chairman.*'

May 25, 1870.

Of the scholars who were invited to take part in the work, in accordance with this resolution, Canon Cook, Dr Newman, Dr Pusey, and Dr W. Wright declined the invitation; and Dr Tregelles was unable from ill health to take his seat among the revisers. Dr Alford and Professor M'Gill were removed by death in 1871 from a work to which they had already rendered important services. The Bishop of Lincoln and Dr Jebb resigned their places on the original Committee of Convocation, shortly after their labours had commenced. On the other hand the following new members were appointed:—

(1) For the Old Testament Company:

Mr R. L. Bensly, Assistant University Librarian, Cambridge.

Dr Douglas, Professor of Hebrew, Free Church College, Glasgow.

Rev. J. D. Geden, Professor of Hebrew, Wesleyan College, Didsbury.

Dr Weir, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow.

(2) On the New Testament Company:

Dr Charles Wordsworth, Bishop of St Andrews.

Dr David Brown, Professor of Divinity in the Free Church College, Aberdeen.

Dr C. Merivale, Dean of Ely. [Resigned 1871.]

The Companies entered upon the work as soon as they were organized. The New Testament Company met for the first time on June 22nd (1870), in the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey: the Old Testament company on June 30th.

Before the first Session (June 22nd) a large number of the revisers joined in the Holy Communion, which was celebrated by the Dean of Westminster in Henry VIIth's Chapel. From that time the Companies have continued their work regularly, except during the summer vacation, the Old Testament Company in bi-monthly sittings of ten days, and the New Testament Company in monthly sittings of four days each.

Shortly after the work was commenced negotiations were opened by the Committee of Convocation with the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge on the subject of the copyright of the revised Version [*i.e.* the Authorised Version amended according to the scheme of revision prepared by the Companies]. These negotiations led to an arrangement in 1872, by which the Presses of the two Universities undertook to provide a sum probably sufficient to pay the bare expenses of the production of the work (travelling expenses, printing, &c.) in return for the copyright. The revisers, it need scarcely be

added, offer their time and labour as a free contribution to the great work in which they have been allowed to join. In the course of these negotiations it was for the first time laid down that the Apocrypha should be included in the scheme of revision, the two Companies combining to produce this part of the work.

When the revision was fairly in progress in England, the Committee of Convocation, according to the tenor of their instructions, and a more specific resolution of July 7th[1], opened communications with Biblical scholars in America. Dr Angus arrived in New York in August 1870 and conferred with Dr Ph. Schaff (a pupil of Neander, who stands in the foremost rank among American theologians), and after the negotiations thus commenced were brought to an end, the following groups of scholars were organized to assist the English Companies by their criticisms and suggestions.

THE OLD TESTAMENT COMPANY.

Prof. Thomas J. Conant, D.D. (Baptist), Brooklyn, N.Y.
„ George E. Day, D.D. (Congregationalist), New Haven, Conn.
„ John De Witt, D.D. (Reformed), New Brunswick, N. J.
„ Wm. Henry Green, D.D. (Presbyterian), Princeton, N. J.
„ George Emlen Hare, D.D. (Episcopalian), Philadelphia, Pa.
„ Charles P. Krauth, D.D. (Lutheran), Philadelphia, Pa.
„ Joseph Packard, D.D. (Episcopalian), Fairfax, Va.
„ Calvin E. Stowe, D.D. (Congregationalist), Cambridge, Mass.
„ James Strong, D.D. (Methodist), Madison, N. J.
„ C. V. A. Van Dyck, M.D.[2] (Missionary), Beyrut, Syria.
„ Tayler Lewis, LL.D. (Reformed), Schenectady, N. Y.

[1] *Chronicles of Convocation*, 1870, p. 565.

[2] Dr Van Dyck, the distinguished translator of the Arabic Bible, cannot be expected to attend the meetings, but may be occasionally consulted on questions involving a thorough knowledge of Semitic languages.

THE NEW TESTAMENT COMPANY.

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Conn.
Prof. Philip Schaff, D.D. (Presbyterian), New York.

'In the delicate task of selection, reference was had
'Schaff writes[1]'), first of all, to ability, experience, and
'tion in Biblical learning and criticism; next, to denomin
'connection and standing, so as to have a fair representa
'the leading churches and theological institutions; and
'local convenience, in order to secure regular atten
'Some distinguished scholars were necessarily omitted, b
'be added hereafter by the committee itself.

'So far as I know, the selection has given genera
'faction. A few gentlemen (not included in the abo
'declined the invitation for personal reasons, but not fr
'hostility to the pending revision. One of these, a
'bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, wrote t
'"Let me assure you, it is from no feeling that a revisio

1 Preface to 'Lightfoot On Revision.'

[illegible]eded, nor yet from any unwillingness to invoke aid in [illegible]king it from others than members of the Church of England, [illegible]t I have been led to this view of my duty." Another wrote: "Respecting the success of the enterprise I have little doubt. [illegible]e result of the best scholarship of the Church in England [illegible]d America will command assent, and the opposition will [illegible]eedily subside." And a third one, likewise a bishop, who is [illegible]teemed by all denominations, expresses himself in this way: "I am glad that, as the revision in England was set on foot by Convocation of the Church of England, and is proceeding mainly under such guidance and control, in constituting an American Committee, to co-operate, the work of formation has been given by the British Committee to a *non-Episcopalian* and to *you*[1]. This will greatly help not only the *all-sidedness* of the work, but, in case it shall be desirable to introduce it into substitution for the present revision, will very materially prepare the way for such result."'

Meanwhile Dr Schaff visited England in 1871, and was present by a special vote at one of the Sessions of the New Testament Company. Having thus become familiar with the method of procedure, he was able to make provision for the efficient cooperation of the American Companies. The result was that in December 1871 the following constitution was adopted for their guidance:

'I. The American Committee, invited by the British Committee engaged in the revision of the Authorized English Version of the Holy Scriptures to co-operate with them, shall be composed of Biblical scholars and divines in the United States.

'II. This Committee shall have the power to elect its officers, to add to its number, and to fill its own vacancies.

'III. The officers shall consist of a President, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer. The President shall conduct the official correspondence with the British revisers. The Secretary shall conduct the home correspondence.

[1] 'The italics are the Bishop's.'

APPENDIX IX.

'IV. New members of the Committee, and corresponding members, must be nominated at a previous meeting, and elected unanimously by ballot.

'V. The American Committee shall co-operate with the British Companies on the basis of the principles and rules of revision adopted by the British Committee.

'VI. The American Committee shall consist of two companies, the one for the revision of the Authorized Version of the Old Testament, the other for the revision of the Authorized Version of the New Testament.

'VII. Each Company shall elect its own Chairman and Recording Secretary.

'VIII. The British Companies will submit to the American Companies, from time to time, such portions of their work as have passed the first revision, and the American Companies will transmit their criticisms and suggestions to the British Companies before the second revision.

'IX. A joint meeting of the American and British Companies shall be held, if possible, in London, before final action.

'X. The American Committee to pay their own expenses.'

In the summer of 1872 Dr Schaff again visited England and had further conference with members of the Revision Companies. In July of that year all the details of co-operation between the English and American Companies were arranged, and copies of the 'first and provisional revision,' so far as it was then completed, were forwarded to the American revisers for their private and confidential use.

APPENDIX X.

Phrases in the Psalms marked in the Psalter of the Great Bible as additions from the Vulgate.

Some of the additions made to the text of the Psalter from the Vulgate Latin are of interest: and, as copies of the Great Bible are not always accessible, it will be worth while to give a list of them. The fact that these additions form an integral part of the text in the Prayer-Book Psalter has frequently led to error; and even a writer who proposes to discuss the relation of the Bible and Prayer-Book Psalters as a scholar (Sir L. C. Lee Brenton), appears to be wholly ignorant of the original notation, which ought not indeed to have been abandoned in the reprint.

Ps.	i.	3	from the face of the earth.
	ii.	11	unto him.
		12	right.
	iii.	2	his.
	iv.	8	and oil.
	vii.	12	strong and patient.
	xi.	5	the poor.
	xii.	1	me.
	xiii.	6	Yea, I will praise the name of the Lord the most highest.
	xiv.	2	no not one.
	—	5—7	Their throat.....eyes.
	—	9	even where no fear was.

APPENDIX X.

xviii.	6	holy.
—	49	cruel.
xix.	12	my.
—	14	alway.
xx.	9	upon thee.
xxii.	1	look upon me.
—	16	many.
—	31	my.
—	32	the heavens.
xxiii.	6	thy.
xxiv.	4	his neighbour.
xxviii.	3	neither destroy me.
xxix.	1	bring young rams unto the Lord.
xxx.	7	from me.
xxxiii.	3	unto him.
—	10	and casteth out the counsels of princes.
xxxvii.	29	the unrighteous shall be punished.
—	37	his place.
xxxviii.	16	even mine enemies.
—	32	God.
li.	1	and needy.
xlii.	12	that trouble me.
xlv.	10	wrought about with divers colours.
—	12	God.
xlvii.	6	our (1).
xlviii.	3	of the earth.
l.	21	wickedly.
li.	1	great.
lv.	13	peradventure.
—	25	O Lord.
lxv.	1	in Jerusalem.
lxvii.	1	and be merciful unto us.
lxxi.	7	that I may sing of thy glory.
—	18	again.
lxxiii.	12	and I said.
—	27	in the gates of the daughter of Sion.

lxxvii. 13 our.
lxxxv. 9 concerning me.
xc. 6 dried up.
xcv. 7 the Lord.
cviii. 1 my heart is ready (2^0).
[cxi. end. Praise the Lord for the returning again of Aggeus and Zachary the prophets. The heading of Ps. cxii. in Vulg.]
cxv. 9 the house of
cxviii. 2 that he is gracious and
— 25 me
cxix. 97 Lord.
cxx. 7 unto them.
cxxxii. 4 neither the temples of my head to take any rest.
cxxxiv. 1 now.
— 2 even in the courts of the house of our God.
cxxxvi. 27 O give thanks to the Lord of Lords, for his mercy endureth for ever.
cxxxvii. 1 thee, O
cxlv. 15 O Lord.
cxlvii. 8 and herb for the use of man.
cxlviii. 5 he spake the word and they were made.

It may be added that Ps. lxxii. 20 (Here end the prayers of David the son of Isai) and Ps. cxiii. 1 a. (Praise the Lord) are omitted in the Prayer-Book Psalter as well as the addition to Ps. cxi. (cxii.).

Other additions of the nature of glosses have been introduced from Münster:

xx. 9 heaven.
xxxix. 12 fretting a garment.
l. 21 the things that thou hast done.
lxviii. 4 as it were upon a horse.
cii. 20 (children) appointed (unto death).
cix. 30 unrighteous (judges).
cxxxvi. 5 excellent (wisdom).

INDEX.

A.

Ales, A., 64 f.

Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, quoted, 31, 35, 36, 38, 40, 43, 48, 49, 53, 56, 68, 77, 79, 94, 95, 110, 111, 114, 115, 118, 122, 131, 136, 199

Anne of Bohemia, Q., studied the Scriptures, 18 n.

Anne Boleyn's, Q., copy of Tyndale's New Testament, 49

Arber's edition of Tyndale's quarto fragment, 30, 34, 55 ff.

Arias Montanus' Latin Version, 268

Arundel, Bp., condemns Wycliffe's writings and version of Scripture, 17

Authorised Version, scholars engaged on, 115

—— rules for its execution, 118 ff.

—— published, 122

—— relation to earlier versions, 270 ff.

—— use of italics, 288 n.

—— character of the language, 289 n.

—— compared with the Latin Vulgate, 295 f.

—— revision of, 338 ff.

B.

Bancroft, Archbp., takes part in the *preparation of* A. V., 112 ff.

Barnes circulates Tyndale's New Testament, 37

—— attacks Wolsey: does penance at St Paul's, 38 f.

Bede translates St John's Gospel: his death, 5

Beza's New Testament, 221, 231, 236 ff.

Bible, study of, 20, 23, 82, 89, 97, 104

—— destroyed, 18, 35 ff., 87 f.

—— new version proposed under the Commonwealth, 124

Bilney, anecdote of, 26 n.

Bishops', The, Bible, 97

—— scholars engaged on it, 99 ff.

—— specimens of the translations, 270, 275, 281, 290 ff., 328 ff.

—— enjoined to be used, 104

—— specimens of the notes, 254 f.

—— Bodleian copy of, 122 n.

Bodley, J., assists in bringing out the Genevan Bible, 95

Bonner's, Bp., admonition on the reading of the Bible in St Paul's 81

Broughton's, H., translations of Scripture, 125 n.

C.

Castalio's version of the Bible, 221.

Chaucer's English quotations of Scripture, 20 n.

Cheke's, Sir J., translation of St Matthew, 91
Cochlæus' account of the preparation of Tyndale's first New Testament, 30 f.
Complutensian Edition used by Coverdale in the Great Bible, 205
Coton's, P., Genève plagiaire, 269 n.
Coverdale intimate with Crumwell, More, Tyndale, 56 f.
—— the first edition of his Bible, 57; different title-pages, &c., 58, 174 n., 305 f.
—— his description of his work as a secondary translation, 59, 168, 172
—— his Latin-English Testaments, 62, 314 ff.
—— second edition of his Bible, 66, 174 n.
—— superintends the preparation of the Great Bible, 74 ff.
—— specimens of his translation, 174, 182, 187, 193, 328 ff.
—— sources of his alternative renderings, 313 ff.
Cox, Bp., on the revision of the Great Bible, 100
Cranmer rejoices on receiving a copy of Matthew's Bible, 70
—— prepares a preface for the second edition of the Great Bible, 78
—— engages Bucer and Fagius upon the Bible, 90 f.
Crumwell furthers Coverdale's translation of the Bible, 56
—— his views on the authority of Scripture, 65
—— obtains the king's sanction for the sale of Matthew's Bible, 71
—— enjoins that a Bible be set up in each church, 77

D.

Dalaber's account of the first English Testament at Oxford, 40 ff.
Demaus' *Life of Tyndale*, 25 n.

E.

Edward VI.'s zeal for the Bible, 88
Elizabeth, Q., on the English Bible, 98
Erasmus at Cambridge, 24
—— his New Testament, 26, 203 n.
—— used by Tyndale, 140
—— by Coverdale in the Great Bible, 204 ff.

F.

Fisher, Bp., attacks Tyndale, 39
Fox, Bp., account of the spread of Scripture among the people, 65 f.
Foxe quoted, 20, 23, 26, 35, 42, 66 f., 80, 82, 177
Frances I. licenses the printing of the English Bible at Paris, 74
French translations of Scripture, 135
—— specimens of the versions, 228 ff.
Froude's, Mr, estimate of Tyndale, 27 n.
Fry, Mr F., 25 n., 33 n., 46, 55, 57, 73, 110
Fryth at Oxford, 131
—— does penance there, 42
—— correspondence with Tyndale, 52 f.

G.

Gardiner, Bp., prevents a translation of the New Testament being undertaken, 87
Garret's story told by Dalaber, 40 ff.

Genevan Testament, 92
—— Bible, 94 ff., 220
—— specimens of the translation, 228 ff., 328 ff.
—— specimens of the notes, 238 ff.
German Versions of Scripture, 134 f.
Ginsburg, Dr., 58 n., 169 n.
Grafton, with Whitchurch, defrays the expense of Matthew's Bible, 69
—— seeks Crumwell's protection, 73
—— examined as to the proposed notes to the Great Bible, 80
Great, The, Bible, 74 ff., 185 ff.
—— successive revisions, 192, 200 ff.
—— specimens of the translation, 188, 222 ff., 241, 328 ff.
—— analysis of the changes introduced in it, 189 ff., 194 ff.
Greek, the study of, in England, 24 n., 130, 132
—— on the Continent, 130 f.
Guest, Bp., on the revision of the Great Bible, 100

H.

Hebrew, study of, 132
Henry IV. takes severe measures against the Wycliffites, 17
Henry VI. gave a copy of Wycliffe's Bible to the Charterhouse, 19
Henry VIII., Coverdale's Bible dedicated to, 61
—— Matthew's Bible dedicated to, 70
—— declaration as to reading the Bible, 80

J.

James I. presses forward a new version of the Bible, 112 f.
John of Gaunt favoured Wycliffe, 18 n.
Joye revises Tyndale's New Testament, 46
—— specimen of his work, 47
—— Tyndale's comments on it, 54
Juda's, Leo, version of the Bible, 221, 223 ff.
Junius' translation of the Apocrypha, 268

L.

Lawrence works on the New Testament in the Bishops' Bible, 247
Lee's, Archbp., letter to Henry VIII. on Tyndale's New Testament, 33
Lewis' History of Translations, 124 n.
Luther's New Testament used by Tyndale, 142 f.
Luther's writings adapted freely by Tyndale, 152 ff.

M.

Malden's narrative, 83 f.
Marler, A., defrays the expense of the Great Bible, 79 n.
Matthew's Bible, 68 n., 176 f.
—— the New Testament from Tyndale (1535), 183 f.
—— notes, 72 n., 321 ff.
More, Sir T., attacks Tyndale's translation, 35
Munmouth's account of Tyndale, 27 f.
Münster's, S., Latin translation of the Old Testament used for the Great Bible, 186 ff., 194 ff., 328 ff.

N.

Nix, Bp., complains of the circulation of the English Testament, 43

O.

Offor's, Mr, manuscript collections for a history of the English Bible, 216 n., 251 n.

P.

Pagninus' Latin Version of the Bible, 133, 223 ff.
Parker's Archbp., judgment on the Genevan Bible, 96
—— plans the Bishops' Bible, 96
Prayer-book, variety of translations in, 293 f.
Psalter, the Prayer-book, 206 ff., 351 ff.
Purvey revises Wycliffe's Version, 13

R.

Reynolds, Dr, proposes a new Version at the Hampton Court Conference, 111
Rheims and Doway Bible, 105
—— method of translation, 256 ff.
—— specimens of the translation, 261 ff.
—— influence on the A. V., 265, 279 f., 286
Rogers (see Matthew's Bible), 92, 177

S.

Sandys, Bp., on the revision of the Great Bible, 99
Saxon translations of Scripture, 5 ff.
Scriptures, translation of, interrupted by national causes, 4, 7
—— zeal in studying, 20
—— perils of possessing, 23
—— burnt, 36, 40, 42
Selden's criticism on the A. V., 121 n.
Smith's, Bp. Miles, Preface to the Authorised Version, 111 n., 120 f.
Spalatinus' account of Tyndale's New Testament, 34

T.

Taverner at Oxford, 131
—— doing penance there, 42
—— his Bible, 85, 215, 328 ff.
Tomson's, L., New Testament, 97 n., 232 ff.
Tremellius' Latin Version of Old Testament, 268
Trench, Archbp., on A. V., 284 n.
Tunstall, Bp., declines to receive Tyndale, 27
—— orders the destruction of Tyndale's New Testaments, 35; preaches against the book, 36
—— sanctions the third edition of the Great Bible, 79
Tyball's account of the circulation of Tyndale's New Testament, 37
Tyndale, birth and early life, 25 f.; visit to London, 26 f.; exile, 28; his first *New Testament*, 29 ff., 142; translates the *Pentateuch*, 55; *Jonah*, 46, 69 n.; revises his New Testament, and adds 'the Epistles out of the Old Testament,' 48, 160 ff., 178 ff.; revises his New Testament for the last time, 51, 149 ff.; his martyrdom, 50; his character and spirit, 52 ff.
—— leaves a manuscript transla-

tion of part of the Old Testament (Josh.—2 Chron.), 68
Tyndale, independence of his translations, 136 ff.
—— glosses on the New Testament of 1525, 321 ff.
—— glosses on the New Testament of 1534, 146 ff., 321 ff.
—— influence of Luther on his writings, 151 ff.
—— his prologues to the books of the N. T., 155 ff.
—— specimens of his translation, 138 ff., 161 ff., 179 f., 182, 187, 233, 235, 328 ff.
—— comparison of the three texts of his New Testament in 1 John, 309

W.

Warham, Archbp., orders the destruction of Tyndale's Testaments, 35
Warham calls an assembly to discuss the use of Scripture, 44
Whittaker, Dr, on Coverdale, 169
Whittingham engaged on the English Bible at Geneva, 92 ff.
Wright's, Mr A., Bible Word-book, 289
Wycliffe's translation of Scripture, 12 f.
—— from the Vulgate, 13
—— opposition to his work, 15
—— remaining manuscripts, 18 ff.
—— not used by Tyndale, 135 n., Ap. viii.
—— specimens of the Versions (see Purvey, Arundel, John of Gaunt, Anne of Bohemia)

Z.

Zurich Bible, 134 f.
—— one of the chief sources of Coverdale's, 169
—— specimens of the translation, 187, 328 ff.

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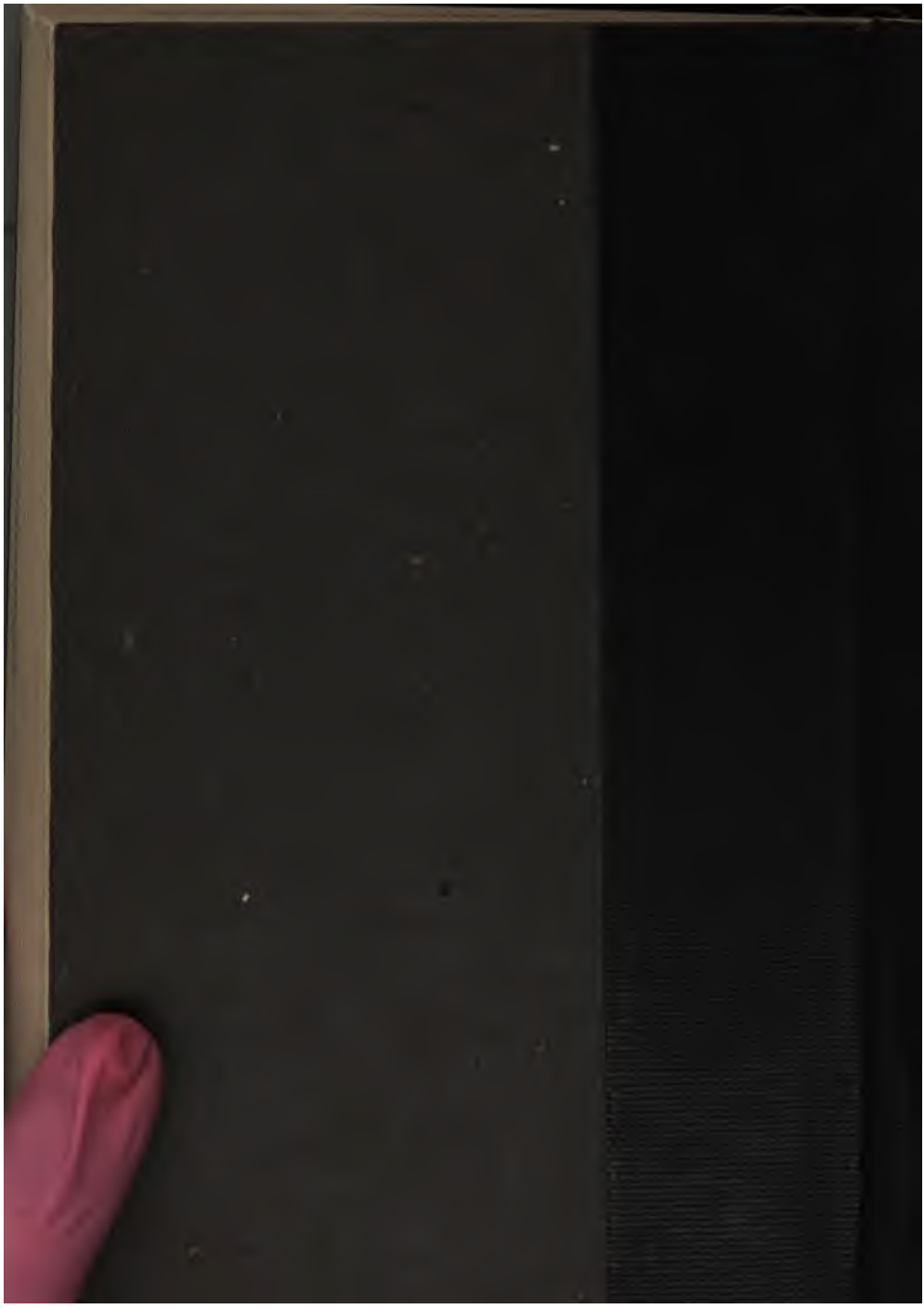
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